

# CHINESE CULTURE

*A Quarterly Review*



Volume I No. 3

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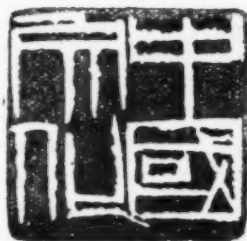
CHINESE CULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE





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By Dr. Chang Chi-yun

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## Fragments of Chinese Law Ancient and Modern

By F.T. Cheng, LL.D. (Lond.) 鄭天錫

(Member of Permanent Court of Arbitration, etc. Former Vice-Minister  
& Acting Minister of Justice, Judge of Permanent Court of International  
Justice, Ambassador to the Court of St. James, etc.)

That the law of a country like China with her long history can, within the framework of an article, be dealt with only in fragments hardly needs any explanation, nor does the statement that the present cannot be intelligible without reference to the past require any authority for its affirmation. This is particularly true in the case of the law of China, of which the past may even be of more interest to the Western readers than the present; for the former was grown entirely on Chinese soil, whereas the latter has been modelled on Western jurisprudence. However, as Private Law concerns most the individual, the law dealt with here is confined to this branch of the law, excluding Public Law in the Austinian sense of the term.

By way of introduction, let us begin with the word *chinoiserie*. As the reader knows, it means, primarily, Chinese things or Chinese knick-knacks, but more often it is used to mean unnecessary complication or difficulty, or oddity. It might be interesting to speculate on why the inventor of that word thought fit to attach this secondary meaning to it. The reason is, perhaps, because things Chinese do sometimes puzzle the Westerner, especially in his first contact with them; for they are, at least in form, so different from what he has been accustomed to in his own country or in the West in general. For instance, the Westerner eats with knife and fork, whereas a Chinese eats with a pair of "chopsticks". The difference, however, is not accidental. The West derived its civilization largely from Greece or Rome, and so in culture and in modes of life Western nations have much in common, whereas the Chinese, whose civilization began much earlier, had to evolve life in their own pattern. Hence, whether in government, religion, philosophy, art, language, literature, or law, they created something of their own and, in each of these as in cuisine, there is a distinct Chinese flavour.

Commenting on one of the most ancient Chinese books extant, the *Book of History*, dated more than two thousand years B.C., Guillaume Pauthier writing about a century ago said:

"What must profoundly astonish the reader of this beautiful monument of antiquity is the lofty reason and the eminently moral sense that inspired it. The authors of this work and the personages, in whose mouths were put the sayings it contains, must, in such a remote period of antiquity, possess a great moral culture that it would be difficult to surpass even in our days."

In the light of these words, Chinese civilization not only began very early but must have been quite advanced even at that remote age. Mention is made of this work because it contains the earliest legal maxims which have ever been treasured by the Chinese as the gems of juridical wisdom, and which, in spite of the passage of time, are wholly in keeping with the modern notion of justice, e.g.:

1. Punishments should not be extended to one's descendants, rewards should be so extended.
2. Involuntary faults should be pardoned, however great they may be. Wilful faults should be punished, though they may be small.
3. When there is doubt as to whether a heavier or lighter punishment should be imposed, decide on the latter. When there is doubt as to whether a greater or smaller reward should be bestowed, decide on the former.
4. Err rather in letting off a guilty person than in condemning an innocent one.
5. The object of punishment is the negation of punishment (i.e. the doing away with the necessity of punishment).

The last maxim is the more remarkable in view of modern jurisprudence; for it means that punishment is imposed not for punishment's sake, such as "an eye for an eye" or "a tooth for a tooth" or making "punishment fit the crime", but for the purpose of prevention. In modern terminology, the object of punishment is deterrent and not retributive.

It has been said by an eminent English jurist, Sir Henry Maine, that the standard of civilization of a country may be measured by a comparison of its civil law with its penal law, that is to say, a backward country has more penal laws than civil laws, whereas a progressive one has these in reverse. This is certainly correct in general. But if it were applied to China before her law reform in recent years, it would be misleading in the light of Pauthier's comment above quoted. It is true that the old law of China contained rather scanty civil provisions, going not far beyond marriage, succession, and debt, and so it was largely penal in character. But this was due not so much to backwardness in civilization or culture as to a different, if not higher, conception of human relation or duty. In the Introduction to the Civil Code in force since 1930 it is said:



"It is quite characteristic of the old traditional conception of Chinese civil law that it is not so much to regulate private intercourse between individuals and to delimit their respective rights as to preserve the general harmony of the universe. More emphasis is laid on the duties of the people based on ethical principles than on their claims. Every violation of a legal rule although it might injure only a private interest and involve no criminal responsibility in the modern sense of the word, constitutes in this system a breach of the order of the world, the safeguard of which has been entrusted to the Emperor, and therefore involves for its author not only civil consequences, such as compensation for the damage caused, but a penalty for transgression of an ethical precept."

In other words, according to the traditional Chinese view, law, being a rule of conduct, cannot be separated from ethics and may only thus lift itself onto a higher plane. Apropos of this concept, it may be interesting to recall a recent debate in England on the question of legislation against vices as a sequel to the report of a Royal Commission on the subject, of which the majority's opinion is that this is a matter for the Church rather than the State. However, the traditional Chinese view is quite understandable, if one realizes that the Chinese have for centuries followed the teachings of Confucius as the Fountain of Morals, which made textbooks for schools and colleges, figured in official documents, furnished themes for examination for the Civil Service, and formed the basis of instruction from parent to child or from the old to the young. Indeed, it may be said that, until the period called the *Period of the Warring States* (481-205 B.C.), the Chinese were predominantly governed by ethics, known as *Li*, that is, moral rules of correct conduct and good manners that had prevailed from time immemorial, and even today it is ethics or *Li* rather than law that is the common measure of conduct in everyday life. There is a legend that Confucius once travelled far to consult Lao Tze, the Old Philosopher, on *Li*, not on law. The rule of not killing an envoy, sent even by an enemy, (called in Chinese *buh sha lai shyy*) was a rule of *Li*, apparently well recognized even in Confucius' time. In about 200 B.C. a book, known as the *Book of Li*, was compiled, which in some cases sets out in detail the ethical rules of conduct that one is expected to observe, and is one of the Confucian Classics used to be taught in schools. Confucius has also this to say:

"If the people are (solely) guided by law, and order among them is enforced (solely) by means of punishment, they will try to evade the punishment but have no sense of shame, but if they are guided by virtue (i.e. good examples), and order among them is enforced by *Li* (i.e. moral rules of correct conduct and good manners), they will have the sense of shame and also be reformed (i.e. become good citizens)."

This Confucian doctrine incidentally throws further light on the inner meaning of the early maxim already quoted about the object of punishment. What the Sage means is that good government consists not so much in punishing people for offending

the law as in educating them so that they will commit no offence. Students of the English Constitution are no doubt familiar with the phrase "the King can do no wrong", which, of course, has a special meaning. In a perfect State its citizens *would* do no wrong. History has recorded the fact that, after Confucius had governed his native State *Luu* as Minister of Justice for three months, "No one would pick up a lost article on the road (and keep it for himself)"; in other words, there was no theft. It is also the Chinese view that it is no pride for a Government that its prisons are overflowing with prisoners, though this may testify to its vigilance over crimes and the efficiency of its police organization; for every crime committed in the realm, when looked at from the sociological point of view, reflects on the Government, just as the death of a patient is no credit to the physician. Hence, in giving advice to a pupil who had been appointed a judge, an eminent disciple of Confucius, Tzeng Tze, said:

"When you have found out the truth of a charge against the accused, be grieved and compassionate for him rather than jubilant over your triumph in your investigation."

This means that a judge, apart from being required to be humane, should, on the discovery of a crime, first think of the causes leading to its commission and the means of preventing it before he thinks of the punishment to be inflicted on the offender, thus putting the responsibility primarily at the door of the State. The wisdom or truth of this is even more obvious in the case of juvenile delinquencies, which, giving rise recently to a serious problem in some countries, are traceable, at least in most cases, more to the defects in social environment or parental instruction than to the inborn nature of the youngster. So far as juvenile offences are concerned, China, fortunately, can show a good record—a fact that has only recently been testified by American newspapers and public men in respect of Chinese youths in America. We owe this much to a Confucian precept, which used to be learned by heart by students in the primary schools and still forms the gist of instruction by parent to child or the old to the young, namely:

"A youth, at home, should observe the doctrine of filial piety (i.e., fulfil his duties in the best manner to his parents) and, when away from home, should observe the doctrine of fraternal deference (i.e., fulfil his duties in the best manner to the elders). He should always be earnest (in his actions) and truthful (in his words). He should abound in love to all and attach himself to the virtuous. When he has leisure, he should employ it in cultural studies."

As a corollary to the maxim "The object of punishment is the negation of punishment", which concerns, of course, crimes, and as a part explanation of the scantiness of civil provisions in the old law of China, it may be instructive to hear the view of Confucius as regards litigation in general. Once he said:

"In hearing litigations I am like any other person. What is necessary is to eliminate (the causes of) litigation."

This is not quite the counterpart of the Roman maxim, *interest reipublicae ut sit finis litium* (It is in the interest of the State that litigation should be limited), but it is very near to it in spirit. The Sage must have thought that in a perfectly governed State there should be not only no crime but also very few, if any, litigations. After all, litigation, though inevitable in a modern society, is not a pleasant or profitable game. An eminent King's Counsel of the English Bar in his book entitled *Forty Years At The Bar* advised people not to go to litigation, if they could help it, saying that in his experience many people did so purely out of vanity. Another King's Counsel of equal eminence in his book, *Hints on Advocacy*, said that as in racing one backs the jockey rather than the horse, so in litigation one backs the lawyer rather than the merits of the case, or something to that effect. All this may be an overstatement, but experience tells us that there is some truth in it. However, partly guided by the Confucian wisdom and partly accustomed to be governed by ethics rather than law, the Chinese, in the settlement of their civil disputes, have long established such institutions as arbitration and conciliation—extra-judicial processes of settlement often resorted to nowadays in the West. In this respect, therefore, the Chinese may well claim to be the pioneers.

As a consequence, until the modern courts were introduced about half a century ago, the people rarely went in for litigation. Their disputes were settled mostly in the village chapel, like an enlarged family council, or in the district temple, like a town hall, or in the guild concerned, like a chamber of commerce, as the case might happen to be according to its nature. Such means of settlement have their advantages too. They not only save time and expenses but also entail less ill feelings than would an adverse decision of a court of law and constitute, in fact, a true form of "trial by one's peers". If the case is settled in a temple or chapel, the parties to the dispute sometimes also feel that the decision must be conscientious because it has been reached in the presence of God or before the spirits of their ancestors. In all these "adjudications", not law but equity, custom, and ethical principles were applied. Customs may vary with the district in which the dispute has arisen, but ethical principles are the same throughout the country, for the teachings of Confucius, as the fountain of morals, prevail in every part of China.

However, though China was richer in ethics and philosophy than in law by comparison with the Romans, she was not lagging even in jurisprudence, or rather what may be termed "political jurisprudence", by the time when Rome had her Twelve Tables compiled, for by that time a school of philosophy, known as the Legist, came into prominence. It advocated government by law sternly enforced in preference to government by virtue or benevolence as stressed by the Confucian School. For instance, Han Fei, Head of the Legal School, said:

1. "No State can be always strong or always weak. Those which are strong in the enforcement of the law will be strong, those which are weak in its enforcement will be weak."

2. "Order and strength of a State spring from the observance of law, disorder and weakness from the disregard of it."
3. "People are spoilt by lenience but submit to authority."
4. "Rewards that are excessive spoil the people, punishments that are excessive cease to be deterrent."
5. "An enlightened ruler does not give secret rewards or take upon himself to remit punishments or pardon crimes."

From these few *dicta* quoted it can easily be conceived that the Chinese Legists differ much from the juriconsults of ancient Rome. The philosophy of the former concerns government by law rather than law itself, whereas that of the latter treats law as a science, expounding legal principles such as:

1. "*Expressum facit cessare tacitum*" (When all terms are expressed nothing can be implied).
2. "*Actus non facit reum, nisi mens sit rea*" (The act itself does not constitute guilt unless done with a guilty intent).
3. "*De minimis non curat lex*" (The law does not trouble itself about trifles).
4. "*Qui facit per alium facit per se*" (He who does a thing by another does it by himself).
5. "*Nemo tenetur se ipsum accusare*" (No one is bound to incriminate himself. This sounds like the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution).

One more instance of the philosophy of the Legal School may be given. When a later exponent of this School, Shenn Tze, was asked what would happen if the law was bad, his answer was: "Bad law is better than no law, because it establishes uniformity. If you divide money or cattle by drawing lots, it does not follow that such drawing makes a fair division, but disputes will thus be avoided." This philosophy may well have inspired the idea of deciding small matters by tossing a coin, a method that is quite prevalent in the West and often followed by modern, educated young men in China, perhaps unaware of the *dictum* of the ancient philosopher. Certainly, it is interesting to contrast this ancient view of the law with that expressed by Jeremy Bentham, who said:

"Every law is an evil, for every law is an infraction of liberty, and government is but the choice of evils."

However, in about 400 B.C. a code of six chapters was drawn up by the statesman, Li Kwei. Half a century later a new code was brought about by Shang Yeang, Prime Minister of State *Chin*, which ultimately founded the dynasty *Chin* under the Ruler known as the First Emperor (246 B.C.). When the *Han* dynasty superseded the *Chin* dynasty (206 B.C.), the old code was replaced by a new one of nine chapters.

From *Han* to the *Tang* dynasty (A.D. 618-907) a new code appeared in every intervening dynasty. In the *Tang* dynasty a very comprehensive and, at least according to the ancient standard, quite systematic code was enacted, largely because the dynasty had a long duration of nearly 300 years, during which culture, as evidenced in poetry, not to say others, was at its height, so much so that even now the Chinese in America still call themselves "the people of *Tang*". Because of the high merit of the *Tang* code it has served as a model for all the codes of the succeeding dynasties, including the last, the *Tsing* or Manchu dynasty, all of which substantially, if not wholly, adopted it as their codes. Some idea of the *Tang* code may be gathered from a comment on the *Tsing* code made by Sir George Staunton in his Introduction to the translation of the latter. This is what he says:

"By far the most remarkable thing in the code is its great reasonableness, clearness and consistency, the business-like brevity and directness of its provisions, and the plainness and moderation in which they are expressed. There is nothing here of the monstrous verbiage of most other Asiatic productions, none of the superstitious deliberation, and the miserable incoherence..... but a calm, concise and distinct series of enactments, savouring throughout of practical judgment and European good sense and, if not always conformable to our improved notions of expediency, in general approaching to them more nearly than the codes of most other nations.....for the repression of disorder and the gentle coercion of a vast population it is equally mild and efficacious."

The reference in this comment to the reasonableness and mild character of the *Tsing* code is the more remarkable, if one realizes that it was based on the *Tang* code enacted more than 13 centuries ago, and that the XII Tables of Rome, in spite of the legal genius of the Romans, allowed the creditors to cut up the body of the insolvent debtor for the satisfaction of their debt—a piece of Roman legislation which may well have inspired Shakespeare with the idea of Shylock in his *Merchant of Venice*! To conclude the discussion on the ancient law of China, it may be mentioned that formality or technicality was never allowed to defeat justice. For instance, no Chinese litigant would ever lose his suit, as the Romans did, if, instead of saying in his plea that the defendant had cut his *trees* as the law provided, he alleged that the defendant had cut his *vines* as a fact, nor would a Chinese court set aside a verdict because the foreman spelled "first" "fist".\*

So far we have seen that the law of China grown on her own soil and in a codified form continued up to the *Tsing* dynasty. In fact even after the establishment of the Republic (A.D. 1912), though a Criminal Code based on modern jurisprudence, called the Provisional Criminal Code, was promulgated to signal the ad-

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\* Storey: *Reform of Legal Procedure*, p. 206. "One man was convicted of murder in the first degree, and the verdict was set aside because the foreman spelled 'first' 'fist'."



vent of the new regime, the Civil Provisions of the old code were kept in force until the promulgation of the Civil Code in 1930. The reason for their retention is, though a revolution may overthrow a political regime after many years of struggle, the law that has governed the interrelations of a people for centuries cannot be revolutionized overnight. However, even before the commencement of the Republic, as China through treaty relations had a large number of foreigners residing in her territory, it was keenly felt that the scanty provisions of the then civil law were far too inadequate to cope with the many legal problems incidental to the modern age, particularly in matters of commerce, such as shipping, banking, insurance, and negotiable instruments, to mention only a few. Hence, towards the end of the Manchu dynasty a movement was on foot to reform the law, a movement which was also urged by China's desire to remove the fetters that had been imposed on her sovereignty, as will be explained.

It is an elementary rule of International Law that a sovereign State has complete jurisdiction over every person in its territory, unless he has been accorded diplomatic immunity. But during the 19th century, owing to her military weakness, China had by treaties, beginning with the one concluded after the Opium War, to concede to the Treaty Powers one after another what was known as Consular Jurisdiction, sometimes loosely called Extraterritoriality. This means that, if a foreigner, to whose country Consular Jurisdiction had been conceded, commits an offence, or if a Chinese wishes to bring an action against him, he has to be prosecuted or sued before his own consul and according to the law of his own country. To say the least, this is certainly a very unsatisfactory way of administering justice, apart from the fact that it constitutes a grave infringement on the sovereignty of the territorial State. One instance will suffice. There used to be secret gambling houses in the International Settlement in Shanghai. Once, the owner of one of these unlawful places was arrested and, as he was a national of a Treaty Power enjoying the privilege of Consular Jurisdiction, he had to be brought before his consul, but as, according to the law of his country, gambling was no offence, he was instantly discharged! This is only one glimpse of what Consular Jurisdiction has meant to China. By abuses, this privilege was so extended that foreigners in China enjoying such privilege refused to pay any of the taxes that the Chinese had to pay. Thus they were virtually in the position of ambassadors. It can well be imagined what an intolerable situation China found herself in with these fetters on her sovereignty, particularly when after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) Japanese nationals were conceded the same privilege, thus swelling enormously the number of privileged foreigners in China. Some of them were unscrupulous too. They engaged themselves in illicit trade of various kinds and sometimes acted as protectors of Chinese offenders of the law. That is why China complained of her "Unequal Treaties" and tried hard to have them revised with the abolition of Consular Jurisdiction and the removal of other infringements of her sovereignty. The matter is of such vital importance to China as an independent State that it forms part of the instructions given to the nation by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Founder of the Republic, in his testament.



However, after much negotiation, a new Treaty of Commerce was finally concluded with Great Britain in 1902, which contains these words:

"China having expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations....Great Britain agrees to give every assistance to such reform and she will also be prepared to relinquish her extraterritoriality rights when she is satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangement for their administration and other considerations warrant her in so doing."

A similar provision figured in the treaties of commerce concluded a year later with America and Japan respectively. Although this provision looks very generous, the concession therein contained being clothed in so many conditions really amounts to very little commitment.

It is thought relevant to mention this part of the history of treaty relations between China and foreign powers, because it forms an important link in the history of her law reform. However, since the conclusion of these new treaties, the modernization of her law and judicial system was no longer a mere internal need for dealing with legal problems incidental to modern life, but at the same time the only means of fulfilling an external obligation as a condition precedent to the recovery of her jurisdiction over foreigners in her territory. Therefore a Law Codification Commission was soon established—an event that may well be called the inauguration of a new era. While a general scheme of law reform was being drawn up, the then existing Penal Code was revised with the repeal of over 2,000 provisions. This wholesale repeal might seem to be enormous, but it must be remembered that the then Penal Code was substantially based on the *Tang* Code enacted more than a thousand years ago, of which many provisions had become obsolete. It was also felt that the law should be simplified. As the Old Philosopher, Lao Tze, has observed, "The more laws there are, the more offences there will be", an observation echoed in the line from Milton:

"So many laws argue so many sins"

However, the labour of law codification rapidly began to bear fruit. While various codes, such as the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Criminal Code, and the Code of Criminal Procedure were being drafted, an important piece of legislation, under the name of the "Law Governing the Organization of Courts" appeared in 1907, putting the courts on a systematic basis by classifying them into different grades, varying with their jurisdiction similar to those existing in Western countries. Originally, there were four grades: the Local Court, the District Court, the High Court, and the Supreme Court, with a Procuratorate of corresponding rank attached to each of them. The Local Court was abolished a few years later. Since then the District Court has become the Court of First Instance, sitting with one judge, the High Court has become the Court of First Appeal, sitting with three

judges, and the Supreme Court, now called the Highest Court, has become the Court of Final Appeal, where the trial in general is by record before five judges without oral debate and is limited to questions of law.

The systematization of the courts is a great step in the direction of law reform. What is more is that the law inaugurating these modern courts contains two provisions which had far reaching effect on the development of the modern law of China. The one prescribes a minimum qualification for those who aspire to be judicial officers, the other confers on the Supreme Court the right to unify the interpretation of law. Let this be explained.

For centuries in old China the only way to qualify oneself for Government service was through the classical examinations. He who displayed the best scholarship, or rather could write the best essays on themes taken from the Confucian Canon in these examinations was considered to be the fittest man for the Administration, whether Executive, Legislative, Judicial, or even Military. This may recall what Carlyle says in his *Heroes and Hero-worship*:

"I have no notion of a truly great man who could not be all sorts of men. Shakespeare, one knows not, what he could not have made in the supreme degree."

Thus the man who was appointed Commander-in-Chief and crushed the Taping Rebellion in the early part of the 19th century, saving the crumbling Tsing dynasty, was a scholar and philosopher, named Marquis Tseng. In connection with his campaign against this rebellion or rather revolution, which nearly succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, there is an interesting anecdote about him, which incidentally throws some light on his personality as a scholar and philosopher. It is said he had the habit of writing every morning a hundred Chinese characters in calligraphic exercise as a means of maintaining his intellectual equilibrium and tranquillity of mind. During this exercise he would tolerate no interruption. One day when he was just half through his philosophical pursuit, a sentinel presented himself, saying: "Sir, the enemy is at our gate!" To this he, quite unmoved, replied: "Say that again when I have finished!"

Well, since he could make a good Commander-in-Chief, there is no reason why he could not have made a good judge. Indeed, there is much wisdom in the observation of the man who says: "If ever I should unfortunately be put on trial for my life, I would elect to be tried rather by a person who knows everything but law than by one who knows only law and nothing else." Probably, Socrates might have said the same thing! All this casts, of course, no reflection on the lawyer, but only shows how highly are learning and scholarship esteemed by the Chinese. In this connection it may be instructive to hear the words of an eminent English sinologue, Professor Herbert Giles. "A good deal of ridicule", says he, "has been heaped of late on the Chinese competitive examinations, the subjects of which were drawn

exclusively from the Confucian Canon, and included a knowledge of ancient history, of a comprehensive scheme of morality, initiated by Confucius and elaborated by Mencius (372-289 B.C.), of the ballads and ceremonial rites of three thousand years ago, and of an aptitude of essay-writing and the composition of verse. The whole curriculum may be fitly compared with such an education as was given to William Pitt and others among our great statesmen."

However, time has changed and modern life demands specialization of knowledge. The old system of selecting talents may have worked well in the good old days, but it would not meet the requirement that the judicial system should be brought into accord with that of the Western nations. Hence, the new law prescribes a minimum qualification for persons who aspire to a judicial career. For instance, it provides:

"Any person who has studied three years or more in a college of law or political science and obtained a certificate of graduation may go in for the First Judicial Examination."

"Graduates successful in the First Judicial Examination shall serve in a District Court or Procuratorate as probationary judges or procurators for two years, after which and on passing the Second Judicial Examination, they may be appointed puisne judges or procurators of a District Court or Procuratorate."

Thus a person, in order to be qualified as a candidate for even a junior judicial appointment, must be a law graduate and pass two judicial examinations, between which he must also have served for two years as a probationary judge or procurator. This "minimum qualification" is some qualification to acquire. At least, it may compare not unfavourably with the standard prevailing in Western countries. As the person who administers the law is no less important than the law itself, this radical change in the system concerning judicial qualification constitutes, in fact, a material part of the law reform, the significance of which can hardly be exaggerated. The law on the subject has since undergone some changes, but its spirit and substance remain and the change, if any, is only to raise the standard required.

The other important provision in the new legislation under discussion is what conferred on the Supreme Court the power of unifying the interpretation of law, a power that is still exercised by the Highest Court. Anyone familiar with Roman law will remember that one form of imperial legislation in ancient Rome was by *epistolae* or *rescripta*. They were answers to questions of law addressed to the Emperor and thus became law. In countries where the Common Law system prevails, like America and England, it is well known that much of the law has been developed by the court through interpretations. Hence, comes the term "judge-made law", as called by Jeremy Bentham. However, the Supreme Court discharged both of these functions, that is, the special power of unifying the interpretation of law and the

ordinary power of interpreting the law as the case came before the court. As has been said, even after the establishment of the Republic, the civil provisions of the old Code, which were very scanty, continued to be in force until the promulgation of the Civil Code in 1930. In the meantime it was a common practice to have questions of law, formulated in the abstract, referred to the Supreme Court for interpretation, which, in exercise of its special power, would give its reply by letter having the same effect as the *epistolae* of the Roman Emperor, inasmuch as it was the Court of Final Appeal. This, together with the exercise of the ordinary function of interpretation, was responsible for the introduction of a large number of legal principles based on modern jurisprudence, so much so that by the time when the Civil Code was promulgated a comprehensive body of what Bentham calls "judge-made law", derived from Western jurisprudence, existed, which not only opened gradually the way for the reception of the new Code but also comprised almost all the essential rules capable of solving all the legal problems then presented.

Under a revolutionary Government things are usually done in a bold and expeditious way. The same is true with the Supreme Court in its indirect legislation in the early days of the Republic. For instance, in one of its earliest decisions it laid down the rule that

"Civil cases shall be decided according to the express provisions of the law, in the absence of such provisions, according to custom, and, in the absence of customs, according to general principles."

Students familiar with Continental law will recognize that this has been taken partly from the Swiss Civil Code and partly from the Italian Civil Code, for the former provides:

"Where no provision is applicable, the judge shall decide according to the existing customary law and, in default thereof, according to the rules which he would lay down if he himself had to act as legislator,"

while the latter provides that in such circumstances the judge is referred to "the general principles of law." However, as the civil laws then in existence were very scanty, as already discussed, it can easily be conceived what a wide power the Supreme Court has allocated to itself under the name of "general principles". This explains how it has been able, pending the promulgation of the Civil Code, to supplement the law by an extensive importation of legal principles from Western jurisprudence. Thus in another early decision it was laid down that "The exercise of rights and the performance of obligations must be in accordance with the requirements of good faith," a principle which is embodied in Art. 242 of the German Civil Code.

What has been said so far shows how large a part has been played by indirect legislation in the law reform at its early stage. Now, a word about law codification

and this will be the concluding part of this article. Between 1906 and 1911 several codes relating to the main branches of the law were drafted, but only the Criminal Code became law in its original form, being promulgated in 1912 under the name of "Provisional Criminal Code", as already mentioned in the earlier part of this article. It consisted of two Parts in 56 Chapters and 401 Articles. Part I relates to General Principles, such as Rules of Application, Exceptions, Attempts, Recidivism, Concurrence of Offences, Joint Offences, Punishments, etc., while Part II relates to specific offences, the tripartite division of the French law into *Crimes*, *Délits*, and *Contraventions*, which exists in Anglo-American jurisprudence in the form of felonies, misdemeanours, and petty offences but has been abandoned by most modern codes, not being adopted. It must be obvious, even from this short description of the Code, that it is of a modern character and on a scientific basis. In fact it has been prepared under the light of the Hungarian Criminal Code of 1871, the Dutch Criminal Code of 1908, the Italian Criminal Code of 1889, the Egyptian Criminal Code of 1904, the Japanese Criminal Code of 1907, and the Siamese Criminal Code of 1908. However, this Code was replaced by the Code of 1928, the draft of which was prepared by the Law Codification Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. Wang Chung Hui, former judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice and now President of the Judicial Yuan (Council), the highest judicial organ of the Chinese Government. The later Code did not make radical changes in the earlier one; for the latter was itself a modern code and, moreover, had through the years become familiar to judges, lawyers, and law teachers, but it greatly improves the earlier one in arrangement and formulation, having been prepared under the additional guidance of the Austrian Draft Criminal Code of 1903, the Resolutions of the German Commission of 1914 on Criminal Reforms, and the counter-draft submitted by certain German criminologists in 1911. As an instance of the improvement effected, while the earlier Code says: "No act is an offence which is not expressly made so by law", the Code of 1928 provides: "No act is an offence which is not expressly made punishable by law in force at the time when it was done."

Thus one can see the difference between the two and the improvement made in the latter; for under the former the question may arise as to whether an act is punishable if it is made an offence after it has been done.

The Code of 1928 was in turn replaced by the Code promulgated in 1935, which is the Code now in force. It did not introduce any material changes but added some new provisions based on the latest advancement in criminology. It consists of two parts. Part I has 12 Chapters and 99 Articles concerning Rules of Application of Law, Criminal Liability, Attempt, Joint Offenders, Punishment, Recidivism, Concurrence of Punishments, Judicial Discretion Regarding Punishment, Suspension of Punishment, Conditional Release, Prescription, and Measures of Security somewhat similar to "liberty under supervision" as provided in Art. 219 of the Italian Penal Code. Part II has 35 Chapters and 357 Articles dealing with specific offences. It was prepared by the highest legislative organ of the Government, the Legislative Yuan (Coun-



cil) under the then Presidency of Dr. Sun Fo, son of the Founder of the Republic. In the course of a few years this organ completed the whole program of modern legislation, such as the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code of Criminal Law, the Code of Criminal Procedure, Company Law, the Law of Insurance, Banking Law, Maritime Law, the Law of Negotiable Instruments, and many other important measures. Since then it may be said that China has brought her judicial system into accord with that of Western nations. Indeed, there is hardly any difference between the two either in form or in substance, so long as it is understood that the Chinese system is of the Continental type. It is even possible that it will be found that the present law of China is in certain respects a little more advanced and scientific in compilation and formulation, when compared with the laws of other countries even with a more mature system than that of the Chinese; for its compilers had the advantage of being able to proceed from a clean slate, as it were, and to be guided by the latest Codes of the present age, whereas in some Western countries, particularly those where the Common Law system prevails, much of the law is bound up with history, which, if put in a new dress, even though without any change in substance, may lose part of the lustre of its historical sanctity.

To conclude, it should be mentioned that, partly because China had completely modernized her law and judicial system and partly because of her unflinching determination to resist aggression in the Second World War, all the Treaty Powers to which China had conceded Consular Jurisdiction voluntarily surrendered this privilege after America and Great Britain had taken the lead to do so during the war. As law is, after all, a rule of conduct, the fact that the law of China is now entirely in line with that of the West cannot fail to forge a smooth and solid bridge between the two and falsify the implication of the oft-quoted line: "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." Lastly, it goes without saying that what has been discussed in this article is the law of China free and not of China enslaved.



## Ancient Chinese Society and Modern Primitive Society

By Li Tsong-tong 李宗洞

Human evolution, like human thought, follows certain categories or patterns. The lines of development may be puzzlingly tortuous, but the general direction is the same. The cultural differences between one race and another are largely differences in degree or stages of development rather than those in kind or pattern. Modern primitive races live in a state of society in which the ancestors of the comparatively more developed races once had their being. The Chinese used to distinguish sharply Yi (夷) or barbarian races from the Hsia (夏) or civilized Chinese race, without knowing that civilization necessarily presupposes savagery and barbarism. Modern Western anthropologists and sociologists have made careful studies of the customs and beliefs of the primitive races in Australia, America and Africa, and their finds throw a flood of light on the Chinese society of antiquity. The Chinese people in prehistoric days must have lived pretty much the same sort of social life as the modern primitive races, and the relics of such life were still preserved in the society of ancient historical times. In short, one and the same law governs the development of the various races of man.

A comparative study of the ancient histories of the East and the West will further show that the organisation of *tsung fa* (宗法組織) or, to coin a new word, "ancestro-linealism" prevailing in the Western and Eastern Chou dynasties of China was similar to the family system in the city-states of ancient Greece and Rome. As the ancestro-lineal society was evolved from an earlier form of primitive society, it is quite safe to presume that before the rise of the family system in ancient Greece and Rome, there must have been a corresponding form of society. Such comparative method is important in the field of historical study and sociology since it will not only help to elucidate the ancient history of China but that of Europe as well.

I propose in this paper to discuss five things: (1) totem and surname; (2) phratria, *chao* and *mu*, and exogamy; (3) worship of fire; (4) gradual centralization of political power; and (5) several peculiar phenomena of matrimony in ancient times. As a matter of fact, these features are not independent but closely related and mutually explicable. Ancient society was an indivisible whole. It is here discussed under different headings merely to show different phases of the same object observed at different angles.

## 1. Totem and Surname

Primitive peoples strongly believe in the fact that men are descended from a living being, animal or plant. Such a being is worshipped by them as their totem. In the present writer's opinion, totem is no other than what we Chinese call *hsing* (姓) or surname. Evidence may be taken from ancient Chinese classics to support this hypothesis. "Surname is that which procreates man" (姓者人所生也) (Hsü Shün: *Lexicon* 許慎說文解字). "Surname is procreation, the force that causes man to be born with his natural endowment" (姓者生也，人所稟天氣所以生者也) (*White Tiger Cyclopaedia: Chapter on Name and Surname* 白虎通姓名篇). "The Son of Heaven set up men of virtue as feudal princes. Surnames were bestowed on them according to their birth" (天子建德，因生以賜姓) (*Tso's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals: Yin Kung: 8th Year* 左傳隱公八年). All these show that surname in ancient China was not a mere designation; it was a substantial entity. Further proofs may be gathered from ancient literature to illustrate the point. "Heaven orders the swallow to come down and bear the ancestor of Shang" (天命玄鳥，降而生商) (*The Book of Odes: Sacrificial Odes of Shang* 詩商頌). Hou Chi (后稷), Minister of Agriculture to Emperor Shun (舜), was supposed to have been born as a result of his mother's treading on the footprints of some giant (履大人迹) (Sze-ma Ch'ien: *Chronicle: Biographies of the Chou Emperors* 史記周本紀). Our ancients believed that man owed his birth to the totem, or at least to some contact with the totem. Such belief is entirely identical to that of modern savages. In ancient Egypt, the king had to disguise himself as the god Ra and come into his queen for sexual union; whereas ceremonials of like nature in ancient China signified the same. In the calendar in *The Book of Rites* (禮記月令), ceremonials of the second moon were described as follows: "The swallow arrives during this moon. On the day of its arrival, sacrifices of oxen are offered to the God of Match-making. The Son of Heaven goes there in person and the empress arrives with the nine ladies of the imperial seraglio as her attendants. When the sacrifices are over, the libationer entertains the lady made pregnant by His Majesty with a bumper of wine, decorates her with a quiver and awards her a bow and arrows before the altar of the God of Match-making" (至之日，以太牢祠于高禘，天子親往，后妃帥九嬪御。乃禮天子所御，帶以弓韣，授以弓矢，于高禘之前。). In our ancient script, surname (姓) and procreation (生) were one and same word. Everybody has his surname; therefore, everybody has his birth or source of life. The source of life is the way how "one's ancestor came" (其祖所自出) (*The Book of Rites*). The source of life is no other than the totem.

Totem is at once material and immaterial; it is a unit, yet also a whole. It is material because it is the source whence generations of the clan are descended and all cosmic things have evolved. It is immaterial because it is neither perceptible nor tangible; nevertheless, all the while we feel it superintending and ruling above and around us in all its glory and majesty, and bringing all cosmic things into existence. Here we are made to apprehend the conception of a being at once immaterial and

material, imperceptible yet real. Totem is a unit because it has an entity of its own; it is also a whole, because it is capable of procreating everything. All cosmic things come of totem; yet each individual being keeps an entity of its own. On this point all later religions are at one. In other words, totemism is the primitive form of religion. To sum up, totem is at once material and immaterial, at once a unit and a whole; it is verily what Confucius called "unnamable" (民無能名焉). Lao-tzu's paradoxes that "the nameless is the origin of heaven and earth" (無名天地之始) and that "the name that can be named is not the constant name" (名可名，非常名) might also have come from the conception of totem. Were a name to be given to totem, it would have been what Chinese ancients called *hsing* (性) or nature. "*Hsing* is the essence of life" (姓者生之質也) (*Chuang-tzu: Keng Sang Ch'u* 莊子庚桑楚). The significance of *hsing* is similar to what the Melanesians mean by *mana*.

Moreover, all descendents of the same totem are of the same clan, or *t'ung-hsing* (同姓), of the same surname, as the Chinese ancients termed it, which appeared repeatedly in *The Book of Odes* (毛詩), *The Book of Rites* (禮記), and *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (左傳). Usually a clan is divided into several sub-clans.

That ancestro-lineal organizations are distinguished from each other by their surnames will show the importance of surnames in the ancestro-lineal society. From another point of view, surname represents nothing but totem or even the very stem of the totemic society. Inasmuch as in an ancestro-lineal society generations are descended under the cover of surname, we may ascertain such society to have developed from totemic society. Modern savages still remain in the stage of totemic society and have not advanced to that of ancestro-linealism. There was once ancestro-lineal society in Europe, especially Greece and Rome; yet due to the overwhelming influence of Christianity, no more traces of such society are left down to the present day. It is therefore hard to trace backward to its totemic stage and make a general survey. Probably China is the only country in the world where traces of totemic society still remain and ancestro-linealism partly survives.

The distinction between major families and lesser ones in the ancestro-lineal society corresponds to that between clan and sub-clans in a totemic society. To quote from the *Grand Commentary on the Book of Rites* (禮記大傳), "A son of a concubine becomes a forefather by whose descendents is formed a lesser family" (別子爲祖，繼別爲宗); the said son of a concubine is the forefather of a sub-clan.

## 2. Phratia, Chao and Mu, and Exogamy

Anthropologists notice in the organization of primitive societies an interesting phenomenon called *phratia* or *moities*—the division of a tribe into two groups, each comprising one or more totemic clans and each being half independent. Evidences of such are found in ancient Chinese history. *The Biographies of Five Em-*

perors in Sze-ma Ch'ien's *Chronicle* (史記五帝本紀) told of Huang-ti's (黃帝) appointment of two imperial supervisors, left and right, to superintend myriads of nations all over the world (置左右大監，監於萬國). In the eyes of the Chinese the world was no bigger than their own tribe. They had it divided into two halves and grouped all nations under either for control. What they regarded as nations were actually but totemic clans. In *The Book of History* we read: "The Royal Protector leading feudal princes of the West entered by the left door, while Pi Kung leading princes of the East entered by the right door" (太保率西方諸侯入應門左，畢公率東方諸侯入應門右). In the *Biography of Yen Chao Kung* of Sze-ma Ch'ien's *Chronicle* (史記燕召公世家) a passage reads, "the land to the west of Shen was ruled over by Chao Kung, and the land to the east of Shen by Chou Kung" (自陝以西召公主之，自陝以東周公主之). All these show that phratia lasted till the Chou dynasty. The appointment of two chief ministers, left and right (左師右師), in the state of Sung (宋) was probably a relic of an old custom. Such convention still existed among the Huns in the Han dynasty; e.g., "Princes and generals on the left side were settled in the East, stationed at Shang-ku; those on the right side, settled in the West, stationed at Shang-chün" (諸左方王將居東方，直上谷。右方王將居西方，直上郡) (Sze-ma Ch'ien's *Chronicle: Record of the Huns* 史記匈奴傳). In this regard we should not forget a remark in the *History of Han* (漢書) that the Huns were descendants of the Great Yü of the Hsia dynasty (匈奴其先夏后氏之苗裔); therefore, closely related to the Hsia or civilized Chinese race. The Huns were related to Hsia just as the Jung (戎) or western barbarian tribes were related to the State of Ch'i (齊), both being of the same surname of Chiang (姜).

Owing to existence of two groups within one tribe, intermarriage between them was carried on through generations. Owing to incessant communion and close relationship between these two groups, a new conception was formed, viz., what the Taoist called the theory of two poles, *yin* and *yang*. Huinan-tzu (淮南子), in his chapter on the origin of Tao (原道訓), said, "In remote antiquity two sovereigns holding the handles of the *tao* stood firm in the very center" (泰古二皇，得道之柄，立於中央). Here originated the bipolar theory of *yin* and *yang* (陰陽二元說). The "remote antiquity" and "two sovereigns" in the passage refer to the historical fact that from the very beginning of human organization there were two groups or moities.

A. Exogamy. Phratia is closely related to exogamy, which denotes the custom of intermarriage between the two groups. It compels one to marry outside one's own group. A man of group "A" is obliged to marry a woman of group "B," and a man of group "B" to marry a woman of group "A." Any violation of this rule will be deemed horrible incest. Such primitive taboo survives still in China in the interdiction of marriage between persons of the same surname. "If man and woman are of the same surname, the offspring of their union shall not prosper" (男女同姓，其生不蕃) (Tso's *Commentary: Hsi Kung: 23rd Year* 左傳僖公二十三年). "In taking a wife, avoid a woman of the same surname for fear of trouble and disaster" (娶妻避其同姓，

畏災亂也) (*Record of Chin* 晉語). "When marrying, do not take a woman of the same surname" (娶妻不娶同姓) (*The Book of Rites: Chapter on Diverse Ceremonials* 曲禮). This custom is still in full force at present in China. From the viewpoint of human evolution, interdiction of marriage between persons of the same surname represents a further development of exogamy. With the advance of time, communions among tribes gradually become regular and manifold. A tribe is no longer secluded and self-contented as formerly. In these circumstances, the scope of intermarriage is broadened. Instead of choosing from the other group of the phratia, one may take a wife from any totemic clan other than one's own. For the interdiction of marriage within the same clan or surname is still strongly enforced. The sphere of matrimonial selection is thus enlarged; yet the primeval nature of exogamy is still kept intact.

An eminent example of exogamy that remained in the Chou dynasty was the intermarriage between the houses of Chi (姬) and Chiang (姜). Wen Wang (文王) and Wu Wang (武王) owed much to the help of Shang Fu (師尚父) of Chiang. According to Tso's *Commentary* on the twenty-fourth year of An Kung (左傳哀公二十四年), all princes of Lu since An Kung took wives from the state of Ch'i (齊). In the state of Wei (衛), the wife of Chuang Kung (莊公) was Chuang Chiang (莊姜) and that of Hsüan Kung (宣公), Hsüan Chiang (宣姜). Among the wives of Ch'i Huan Kung (齊桓公) were Wang Chi (王姬) and Ts'ai Chi (蔡姬). These were relics of typical exogamy between the houses of Chi and Chiang.

Exogamy and totemic society are inseparable. Why are the primitives of totemic society not allowed to marry within their own tribal group? Answers were given by men of the Eastern Chou dynasty. As stated in Tso's *Commentary* on the first year of Chao Kung (左傳昭公元年), Tzu-tsan (子產) explained to So-hsan (叔向) that the union of man and woman of the same surname would result in the loss of beauty and infection of diseases in the offspring (美先盡矣, 則相生疾). Moreover, "defilement of blood would yield resentment which would in turn bring forth trouble and disaster. The result would be decrease of procreative power. Therefore, a woman of the same surname should not be taken as wife for fear of trouble and disaster" (黷則生怨, 怨亂毓災, 災毓滅姓。是故娶妻避其同姓, 畏災也) (*Record of Chin* 晉語). The taboo on the sexual union between men and women of the same surname is similar to the taboo on the eating of the totem. Such a union would neutralize the totemic nature—what Tzu-ts'ai called beauty or what Shih-pe (史伯) said, "The union of the likes would precipitate the extinction of innate nature" (若以同俾同, 盡乃棄矣), and hence the extinction of *hsing* (姓) or source of life, which means the extinction not only of the totemic clan but the totem itself altogether. The quintessence of totem is to live; its function is to procreate. Exogamy is the only means to maintain and propagate a totemic society to eternity. This explains the reason why a totemic society requires the system of exogamy.

B. *Chao* and *mu* and alternative gradation of genealogy. Besides phratia and



exogamy, there has been discovered among natives of Australia the alternative gradation of genealogy. Generations of a totemic clan are divided into two grades, say, "A" and "B". If a father belongs to grade "A", his son will belong to grade "B", his grandson again to grade "A", his great-grandson again to grade "B", and so on. The system of exogamy is thus rendered more specific and complicated. Not only has one to marry outside one's own group but also to choose a member of the same grade. Suppose a tribe is divided into two groups, left and right, each group being further divided into two grades, "A" and "B", then a man of grade "A" in a left-side clan can only marry a woman of grade "A" in a right-side clan. This man is therefore forbidden to marry a woman of grade "B" in a right-side clan.

I suggest that the division of *chao* (昭), the illustrious, and *mu* (穆), the reverend, in the Chou dynasty is precisely such a thing. "Your reverend deceased father Wen Wang founded the state in the western territory" (乃穆考文王肇國在西土) (*The Book of History: Chou Dynasty: Imperial Order for Temperance* 周書酒誥). "You shall be led to look on your illustrious deceased father and to make sacrifice and offerings" (率見昭考, 以孝以享) (*The Book of Odes: Tsai Chien* 詩載見). According to Mao's *Commentary*, "your illustrious deceased father" refers to Wu Wang (武王). "Plan for me a good beginning. Your Majesty will have to comply with your illustrious deceased father" (訪予落止, 率時昭考) (*The Book of Odes: Fang Lo* 詩訪落). According to Tso's *Commentary* on the fifth year of Hsi Kung (左傳僖公五年), Kung Chih-ch'i (宮之奇) in addressing his sovereign prince of Yü (虞) spoke of T'ai Pe and Yü Chung as the "illustrious" heirs of T'ai Wang and Kua Chung and Kua So as the "reverend" heirs of Wang Chi (太伯, 虞仲, 太王之昭也。號仲, 號叔, 王季之穆也。). In Tso's *Commentary* on the twenty-fourth year of Hsi Kung (左傳僖公二十四年), we read, "Kuan, Ts'ai, Ch'en, Ho, Lu, Wei, Mao, Jan, Kao, Yung, Ch'ao, T'eng, Pi, Yuan, Feng, and Hsün were descendents from the 'illustrious' lineage of Wen Wang, while K'an, Chin, Yin, and Han were descendents from the 'reverend' lineage of Wu Wang" (管、蔡、鄭、霍、魯、衛、毛、邾、郚、雍、曹、滕、畢、原、豐、郕、文之昭也。邰、晉、應、韓、武之穆也。). These suffice to show that people of the Eastern Chou dynasty had a definite conception of *chao* and *mu*. The alternative application of the epithets *chao*, the "illustrious" and *mu*, the "reverend", to consecutive generations corresponds to the different gradation of father and son in primitive societies. According to *The Book of Rites: Chapter on Diverse Ceremonials*, a son is not qualified to be the impersonator of his deceased father at sacrifices; but a grandson may be the impersonator of his deceased grandfather (子不可爲父尸, 孫可爲王父尸), simply because father and son are of different grades and grandfather and grandson are of same grade. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* p. 104ff. contains a detailed table of such gradation. To take natives of Kamilaroi for an example, clans of the right side are divided into two grades, one being Muri (man) and Matha (woman) and the other being Kubi (man) and Kubitha (woman), while those of the left side are likewise divided into two grades, one being Kumbo (man) and Butha (woman) and the other being Ipai (man) and Ipatha (woman). According to local cus-



tom, *Ipai* and *Ipatha*, *Muri* and *Matha*, *Kubi* and *Kubitha*, *Kumbo* and *Butha* greet each other all as brothers and sisters. Such gradation may be translated into the terms of *chao* and *mu* as follows:

<i>Muri</i> —Right reverend man	<i>Matha</i> —Right reverend woman
<i>Kubi</i> —Right illustrious man	<i>Kubitha</i> —Right illustrious woman
<i>Kumbo</i> —Left reverend man	<i>Butha</i> —Left reverend woman
<i>Ipai</i> —Left illustrious man	<i>Ipatha</i> —Left illustrious woman

Each line of the above list refers to the same grade (*chao* or *mu*, illustrious or reverend) and same side (left or right). Since in primitive societies members of the same generation within one tribe, irrespective of their being first cousins, second cousins or very remote cousins, are considered as if they were brothers and sisters by the same father. Thus

*Ipai* can only marry *Kubitha*.  
*Kumbo* can only marry *Matha*.  
*Muri* can only marry *Butha*.  
*Kubi* can only marry *Ipatha*.

In terms of *chao* and *mu*,

Left illustrious man can only marry right illustrious woman.  
Left reverend man can only marry right reverend woman.  
Right reverend man can only marry left reverend woman.  
Right illustrious man can only marry left illustrious woman.

According to the rules of exogamy, clans of the left side can only form alliances with those of the right. On account of the different gradation of consecutive generations, *chao* or the illustrious of a left clan can only unite with the like grade of a right clan, while *mu* or the reverend of a left can only unite with a right reverend.

As to the gradation of consecutive generations, the offspring of *Ipai* and *Kubitha* will be *Muri* and *Matha*. The former correspond to *chao* and the latter to *mu*. *Chao*, the illustrious, give birth to *mu*, the reverend.

In short the gradation of primitives is no other than the system of *chao* and *mu* in ancient China.

C. Appellation of Relatives. Morgan noticed for the first time the appellations of relatives among the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois in North America. Such appellations are discovered to be different from those of modern Europeans and Americans. Probably they are a result of the persistent tradition of exogamy. Their prevalent use among modern primitives is a strong proof for the one-time existence of exogamy.

Morgan enumerated ten peculiarities:

1a. A man calls his brother's son and daughter son and daughter.

- 1b. A man calls his sister's son and daughter *Ha-ya'-wan-da* and *Ka-ya'-wan-da*.
- 2a. A woman calls her brother's son and daughter *Ha-soh'-neh* and *Ka-soh'-neh*.
- 2b. A woman calls her sister's son and daughter son and daughter.
4. One calls father's brother father.
5. One calls the son and daughter of father's brother brother and sister.
6. One calls mother's brother uncle.
7. One calls mother's sister mother.
8. One calls the son and daughter of mother's sister brother and sister.
9. One calls grandfather's brother grandfather. On the other hand, one calls brother's grandson grandson.
10. For brothers and sisters, the name for elder is distinguished from that for younger. There are specific appellations for elder brother and younger brother respectively. So are those for elder sister and younger sister. These primitives are not like Europeans who call brother and sister irrespective of their being elder or young.

A comparison of these appellations with those used by the Chinese in ancient times shows that they are quite alike.

(1a) and (3) are two sides of one and same thing. In the *Biography of Shu Kuang of The History of Han* (漢書疏廣傳) we read, "He and his elder brother's son Shu, both father and son were imperial tutors" (與其兄子受, 父子並為師傳) We may again quote from *The Biography of Hsieh An in the History of Chin* (晉書謝安傳), "An and his elder brother's son, both father and son were noted for extraordinary services they had rendered to the state" (安與兄子玄, 父子皆著大勳) This shows that, in the dynasties of Han and Chin, men still regarded uncle and nephew as father and son. Moreover, there is a passage in a chapter in Yen's *Family Talks* (顏氏家訓風操篇), "Since the period of Chin, the names of uncle and nephew have come in vogue" (晉世以來, 姪始呼叔姪). Hence, previous to the Chin dynasty our ancestors, like modern primitives, addressed uncle and nephew as father and son.

(1b) and (6) also represent two sides of one relation. As explained by *The Book of Synonyms* (爾雅), "Mother's brother is uncle" (母之兄弟為舅); "I call him my nephew who calls me uncle" (謂我舅者, 吾謂之甥也).

(4) In another chapter in Yen's *Family Talks* (顏氏家訓風操篇), the author mentioned a custom in Kiangnan, "Descendents of the same grade, either *chao* or *mu*, even hundred generations from the original ancestor, still call one another brothers" (同昭穆者雖百世猶稱兄弟). Therefore, the name "brothers" refers not merely to one's first cousins but to all remote cousins of the same grade within the same clan.

(2a) and (5) also represent two sides of one matter. In Tso's *Commentary* on the fifteenth year of Hsi Kung (左傳僖公十五年), "Nephew has to follow his aunt" (姪其從姑). Here "nephew" refers to the wife of Ch'in Mu Kung (秦穆公). Again,

in Tso's *Commentary* on the nineteenth year of Hsiang Kung (左傳襄公十九年), we read, "The prince of Ch'i had married a daughter from Lu called Yen I Chi without any issue; but her nephew Tsung Shen Chi gave birth to Kuang" (齊侯娶於魯曰顏懿姬，無子。其姪譚聲姬生光)。Here nephew means niece. "Nephew" was then generally applied to nephew and niece alike.

(2b) and (7) are similar. According to the same section in *The Book of Synonyms*, "Mother's sisters are called mothers at the second remove" (母之姊妹爲從母). Thus maternal aunts are still mothers.

(8) See *The Book of Synonyms*: "Brothers born of the mothers at the second remove" (從母兄弟). This shows that cousins were called brothers.

(9) According to surviving fragments of ancient divination (卜辭), grandfather's brothers were also called grandfathers.

(10) In the same section in *The Book of Synonyms*, it is defined, "A boy born earlier is *hsiung* or elder brother and that born later, *ti* or younger brother" (男子先生者爲兄，後生者爲弟). "A girl born earlier is *tsi* or elder sister and that born late, *mei* or younger sister" (女子先生者爲姊，後生者爲妹). In China the custom of calling the elder and younger of brothers and sisters by different names has been preserved down to the present day.

These correspondences will show that the system of appellations of relatives in ancient China is the same as that of modern primitives in North America.

### 3. Worship of Fire

The custom of fire worship is known to have prevailed in ancient times especially in Greece, Rome and India. A holy fire called *focus*, mostly made of charcoal or coal, was kept burning in every household, city and state, to be worshipped both in the morning and in the evening, and before each meal. Such a custom once also prevailed in China, and of more or less the same character. The Chinese conventionally symbolize their ancestors by *chu* (主) or wooden tablets. According to Hsü Shên's *Lexicon*, *chu* represents the wick of an oil lamp (主，燈中火柱也). Supposing this etymology to be correct, then how did it come to mean wooden tablet? The only possible answer we can give would be that ancient Chinese, like ancient Greeks, Romans and Indians, had the same convention to represent ancestors by fire. The flame of fire was the very symbol that they worshipped as their ancestors and was therefore named *chu*. It was later superseded by wooden tablets when the name *chu* had been in use for thousands of years. While the material that symbolized the object of worship had been changed, the name *chu* remained unaltered and continued in use.

There are other proofs of the prevalence of fire-worship in ancient China. The household holy fire of ancient Greece and Rome had to be let out once every year

and to be lighted anew. That was what Chinese ancient sages called *kai-huo* (改火) or "change of fire" mentioned in Confucius' *Analects*, or *Keng-huo* (更火) or "super-session of fire" referred to in the *Chapter on Rural Calendar* of the recovered *Book of Chou* (逸周書月令). The ancient Europeans and the ancient Chinese used the same method of ignition for the holy fire. In ancient Greece and Rome it was only permissible to take fire from sunlight or by friction of wood. Such a practice was also strictly observed in ancient China. *The Book of Chou Rites* (周禮) contains a chapter specially devoted to the *Sze-huan-shih* (司烜氏) or officer in charge of sunlight fire who was "appointed to take luminous fire from the sun" (掌以夫遂取明火於日). The "luminous fire" is no other than the fire taken from sunlight. The making of fire by friction of wood was referred to in Confucius' *Analects* as *tsuan-sui* (鑽燧) or ignition by boring a hole with a wooden awl in a wooden plate. Such method of igniting is still used among modern primitives. Like modern primitives, those ancient primitives who initiated the convention of fire worship also made fire by boring in wood, which became part of the sacrificial ceremonials and continued to exist. *The Book of Rites* contained a chapter on the *chiao te sheng* (郊特牲) or special victim for the sacrifice to Heaven, describing the ritual in the Eastern Chou dynasty that earthenware and calabashes were used as utensils at the sacrifice (器用陶匏).

In ancient Rome the fire worship was usually presided over by vestal virgins. Modern primitives have similar customs. For instance, the Herenos in Africa choose an unmarried daughter of the chieftain to officiate at the ceremony of the sacrifice. In ancient China, the same thing existed. "The eldest daughter of people in Shantung was ordered not to marry and was called *wu-erh* or priestess to minister in the family temple. Her marriage would mean disaster to the family. Such has become a custom up to the present" (齊志：民間長女不得嫁，名曰巫兒，爲家主祠。嫁者不利其家。民至今爲俗。)(*The History of Han: Geographical Record* 漢書地理志). In the *Book of Odes* there is an ode on the gathering of *marsileas* (采蘋) which contains verses, "Who is to officiate? The younger daughter of Ch'i." (誰其尸之，有齊季女) Probably they refer to the fire priestess.

Fire became in Rome an independent divinity called *Vesta*, corresponding to the Indian god *Agni*. Before offering sacrifice to any other divinities, Romans had to first invoke *Vesta*. In the *Rig-Veda* of India, it was stated that the venerable god *Agni* being placed at the head of immortals had to be first called on in prayers before all other divinities. In this connection, a similar instance may be seen from the chapter on the *Sze-huan-shih* in *The Book of Chou Rites*, "Before any rituals of sacrifice the Discoverer of Fire is first to be invoked" (凡祭祀先祭燔). Moreover, ancient Greeks and Romans thought that all prayers were conveyed to the gods by *Vesta* and all blessings of Heaven upon mortals were delivered to the people through the intermediary of *Vesta*. In China there was a similar belief that the God of the Fireplace undertakes to watch over the good and evil deeds of the family and report them to Heaven. These are really one and the same belief.

The minister at the ceremony of fire worship became the king himself and the ceremony took place at *tai-shih* (太室), the central room of the royal ancestral temple, or *chung-liu* (中霽), the seat of the family god. Parallels can be also found in ancient Rome.

#### 4. Gradual Centralization of Political Power

The ancient Chinese, like modern primitives, were advancing step by step toward centralization of political power. The process can be divided into four stages.

A. The leaderless stage. This is the stage eloquently described in the following passage from Lü Pè-wei's *Historical Review*:

"In remote antiquity there was a time when people lived without a sovereign. People gathered to live in groups. They were children of their mothers but had no idea who their fathers were. The relationships between relatives, brothers, husband and wife, and man and woman, had not been established. Nor social institutions about superiors and inferiors, seniors and juniors. Nor etiquette about modes of living and modesty. Nor facilities of clothing, housing, or providing against hard times. Nor tools, vessels and vehicles, fortifications and other defensive means" (昔太古嘗無君矣。其民聚生羣處，知母不知父。無親戚兄弟夫妻男女之別，無上下長幼之道，無進退揖讓之禮，無衣服履帶畜積之便，無器械舟車城郭險阻之備) (呂覽特君篇)

Up to the Han dynasty the tribes of Ch'iang (羌) who were a backward sub-branch of Chiang (姜) still remained in this stage. According to the *Record of the Western Ch'iangs* in *The History of Later Han* (後漢書西羌傳), no relationship of sovereign and subjects or political unity existed among them (不立君臣，無相統一).

B. Stage of the election of a leader. Emperor Yao (堯) did not transmit his throne to his son Tan-chu (丹朱) but to Shun (舜). Shun in turn did not hand his throne to his son Shang-chün (商均) but to the Great Yü (禹). Such convention of abdication suggests a period in Chinese antiquity when the leaders were chosen or elected. The record in *The Book of History* about Emperor Yao's consultation with four chiefs and twelve magistrates (咨四岳十二牧) before his abdication to Shun is also a hint of the same fact. According to J. G. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. III, p. 159, among the Creeks in North America, every city has a leader chosen by election and for life, who convokes congress and acts as chairman at the meeting. All affairs of public welfare are to be discussed by the mass. Although highly respected, he is clad like a common subject. He goes to the hunt and tills the ground with axe and hoe with his relatives. According to the chapter of *T'un Wen Kung* (滕文公) in



Mencius (孟子), Hsu Hsin (許行) who preached the doctrine of Emperor Shen Nung (神農), supposed originator of agriculture, held that men of lofty virtue tilled the ground side by side with people for food and prepared breakfast and supper by themselves while governing (賢者與民並耕而食，養殘而治)。 This description makes manifest that leaders of ancient Chinese, like those of modern Creeks, lived an ordinary life of the common people.

C. Stage of joint ownership of power by brothers. Transmission of an elder brother's throne to his younger brother was prevalent in the Shang dynasty. The Shang dynasty comprised seventeen generations and thirty-one emperors, of which seventeen reigns were said to be by the succession of a son to his father, and fourteen by that of a younger brother to his elder brother. This testified that after Emperor T'ang (湯) the political power of the Shang was not concentrated on the eldest son but was a joint ownership by brothers. In this regard some evidence may be taken from modern primitive societies. Baldwin Spencer says:

"The head man of each Totemic group is called Tjungunni. If he dies, the next eldest brother succeeds to the post and so on through the brothers, including amongst these the father's brothers' sons. If there are none of these alive, then the eldest son succeeds. That is, for example, if there be three brothers and the eldest dies, the office of Tjungunni does not descend to his son, but to the elder of the two survivors. If both of them die, then it reverts to the eldest son of the first named, even if, in years, he be younger than a son of the second brother. . . . Being the son of an elder brother, he is the elder brother of all the three brothers' sons, no matter what his age may be" (*Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, p. 198).

From the genealogy of the Shang dynasty one may note that upon the death of Tsu Hsin (祖辛), his younger brother Wu Chia (沃甲) succeeded. At the death of Wu Chia, the throne did not descend to his son but to Tsu Ting (祖丁), son of his elder brother Tsu Shin, by the preferred right of the eldest brother's branch. When Tsu Ting died, the heirship fell to Nan Kêng (南庚), son of Wu Chia, which was evidently succession by a son of one's father's brother. After Nan Kêng, the throne did not descend to his son, but to Yang Chia (陽甲), son of Tsu Ting, which was again an assertion of the preferred right of the eldest branch. Sze-ma Ch'ien's *Chronicle* contains detailed accounts of these reigns entirely coincident with the statement in Spencer's works.

Toward the end of the Shang dynasty, from the reign of Wu Ting to that of Wu Kêng (武庚), five successive reigns descended from fathers to sons, and no longer from elder brothers to younger brothers. This marked the gradual approach toward the stage of the eldest son's right of succession to the throne in the Chou dynasty. The change from joint ownership of power by brothers to concentration of power in the eldest son has often been overlooked by historians.



D. Stage of concentration of power in the eldest son. The Shang dynasty was a transition from the stage of joint ownership of power by brothers to that of concentration of power in the eldest son. The Chou dynasty that represented the latter stage covered thirty-two generations and thirty-eight emperors from Wen Wang (文王) to Nan Wang (赧王), of which thirty-two reigns were by the heirship of a son to his father and six otherwise. The throne of Tao Wang (悼王) was disputed by Wang Tzu Ch'ao (王子朝). While Tao Wang died very young without issue, the circumstance demanded that the throne should be descended to his younger brother Ching Wang (敬王) in order to oppose Wang Tzu Ch'ao, which event was stated in Tso's *Commentary* and the *Biographies of the Chou Emperors* in Sze-ma Ch'ien *Chronicle* (史記周本紀). As to the succession of Sze Wang (思王) and K'ao Wang (考王) to their elder brother An Wang (哀王), it was stated in the *Biographies of the Chou Emperors* that "The royal younger brother stabbed An Wang by assault and set up himself as emperor who was later entitled Sze Wang. No sooner had he reigned for five months than his youngest brother Kuei attacked and killed him. Kuei announced himself emperor called K'ao Wang" (弟叔襲殺哀王而自立，是爲思王。思王立五月，少弟夷攻殺思王而自立，是爲考王)。Such usurpation of the throne by assassination necessarily forms an exception. Upon the death of I Wang (懿王) the heirship to the throne fell to his father's younger brother Hsiao Wang (孝王). When Hsiao Wang died, Yi Wang (夷王), son of I Wang, was enthroned. All the while there must have been violent political quarrels for the heirship, of which no detailed accounts are available. Only two emperors of the Chou dynasty ascended the throne as younger brothers succeeding elder brothers, viz., succession of Ting Wang (定王) to K'uang Wang (匡王) and that of Hsien Wang (顯王) to Lieh Wang (烈王). The reasons for this remain unknown. At any rate our review shows that the tradition of concentration of power in the eldest son had been firmly established and in full play. In this regard historical facts happened to coincide with the statement of heirship in *The Book of Rites*.

In the Chou dynasty the ordinance about concentration of power in the eldest son was enforced from the reign of Wen Wang. Before the founding of the dynasty, there were still traces of the tradition of joint ownership of power by brothers. The chapter on the *Conquest of Yin* in *The Book of History: Chou Dynasty* (周書克殷解) contains words that follow: "Our imperial majestic ancestors T'ai Wang, T'ai Pê, Wang Chi, Yü Kung, Wên Wang and I K'ao ascended the throne in prescribed successive order" (王烈祖太王太伯王季虞公文王邑考，以列升)。During the reign of Wen Wang, the royal brothers Kua Chung (虢仲) and Kua So (虢叔) were chief ministers (Tso's *Commentary*: Hsi Kung: 5th year (左傳僖公五年), whom the Emperor had to consult when questions about important state affairs arose (*Record of Chin* 晉語). At the time of Wu Wang (武王) and Cheng Wang (成王), Chou Kung was appointed Chief Minister (太宰), K'ang So (康叔) Minister of Crime (司寇), and Tan Chi (聃季) Minister of Works (司空). All these ministers were brothers of Wu Wang (Tso's *Commentary*: Ting Kung: 4th year (左傳定公四年)). During the reign

of Yu Wang (幽王), Chêng Huan Kung Yu (鄭桓公友), younger brother of Hsuan Wang (宣王), acted as Minister of Instruction (司徒) (*Record of Feudal States* 國語). In the state of Lu (魯), before the appointment of the heir apparent, Chuang Kung (莊公) went to consult his royal younger brothers So Ya (叔牙) and Chi Yu (季友) (*Tso's Commentary: Chuang Kung: 32nd year*). Moreover, at the time of Hsi Kung, Chi Yu held the reins of the state of Lu. Later on, the family of Chi (季) continued to control the state till the extermination of Lu. Chung Sui (仲遂), minister to Wen Kung (文公) and Hsuan Kung (宣公) of Lu was younger brother of Wen Kung. In these feudal states almost all the ministers and officials of high ranks came of the royal family or its side branches. Although the royal younger brothers no longer had the right to inherit the throne, they were still entitled to have a voice in state affairs. Furthermore the feudal system of the Chou dynasty was based upon the royal kinsmen's participation in political power by dividing the territory into small states among them. To the royal brothers it was a change from enjoyment of joint heirship to the throne to simultaneous participation in the state control, a relic of joint ownership of political power by brothers. Thus the dynasties of Yin and Chou represent two different stages of human advance toward the centralization of political power. Thenceforward they necessarily led to the concentration of power over the whole empire in one person, not to be divisible again, which finally culminated in the founding of a unified absolute monarchy by Shih Huang Ti of the Ch'in. (秦始皇)

##### 5. Some Peculiar Phenomena of Marriage in Ancient China

In primitive society one finds the custom of sororate, i.e., the marriage of several sisters to one husband. A similar tradition prevailed in ancient China—*ti* (媵), or younger sisters accompanying their elder sister to marry a feudal lord. The following quotations will show:

"The sleeves with ornaments given by her royal elder brother were not so beautiful as those of her younger sister who accompanied her." (其君之袂不如其娣之袂良) (*The Book of Changes: Kuei Mei* (易歸妹)).

"Her younger sisters followed her as numerous as clouds" (諸妹從之，祁祁如雲) (*The Book of Odes: Ta Ya: Han I* 詩大雅韓奕).

The first quotation refers to Ti I (帶乙) of the Shang dynasty (商) and the second is a description of a wedding procession in the Western Chou dynasty. Hence the tradition of group marriage of the bride's younger sisters to the same husband had already been prevalent in the Shang dynasty. It was especially in vogue among the noble houses under the feudal system of the Eastern Chou dynasty. The following examples are collected from *Tso's Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals*:

A. Wei Chuang Kung took a wife from Ch'ên called Li Wei who begot Hsiao Pê and died very soon. Her younger sister Tai Wei begot Huan Kung whom Chuang Chiang adopted as her own child (衛莊公娶於陳曰厲嬀，生孝

伯，早死。其娣戴嬀，生桓公，莊姜以爲己子 ) (Yin Kung: 3rd year 隱公三年 ) .

B. The Marquis of Chin conquered Li Jung. The Baron of the latter gave him his daughter Li Chi who begot Hsi Ch'i when they had returned. Her younger sister begot Cho Tsze ( 晉伐驪戎。驪戎男，女以驪姬。歸，生夷齊，其娣生卓子 ). (Chuang Kung: 28th year 莊公二十八年 ).

C. Ming Kung was the son by Shu Chiang, the accompanying younger sister of Au Chiang. ( 閔公，哀姜之娣叔姜之子也 ) (Ming Kung: 2nd year 閔公二年 ).

D. Mu Pê took a wife from Lü called Tai Chi who begot Wen Pê. Her younger sister Shêng Chi begot Hui Shu ( 穆伯娶於莒曰戴己，生文伯。其娣聲己生惠叔 ) (Wen Kung: 7th year 文公七年 ).

E. Kung-Tzu Ch'ou, son by Ch'i Kuei, accompanying younger sister of Ching Kuei, was adopted as the heir-apparent ( 立敬歸之娣齊歸之子公子稠 ) (Hsiang Kung: 31st year 襄公三十一年 ).

F. The royal younger brother Chi of Wei took a wife from the family of Sung Tsze-chao. Her younger sister became his favourite ( 衛太叔疾娶於宋子朝，其娣嬀 ) (Au Kung: 11th year 哀公十一年 ).

G. Pê Chi was married to the state of Chi ( 伯姬歸於紀 ) (Spring and Autumn Annals: Yin Kung: 7th year 隱公七年經 ). Shu Chi was married to the state of Chi ( 叔姬歸於紀 ) (Spring and Autumn Annals: Yin Kung: 7th year ). According to the notes of Tu Yü ( 杜預 ) and Fan Ning ( 范甯 ), Shu Chi was the accompanying younger sister of Pê Chi.

H. The Earl of Ch'in presented to Chin Wen Kung five girls, of whom Huai Ying was one ( 秦伯納女五人，懷嬴與焉 ) (Hsi Kung: 23rd year 僖公二十三年 ). Although it was not pointed out that Huai Ying was an accompanying younger sister, yet the fact that five sisters were at once married to Chin Wen Kung points clearly to sororate.

These examples indicate that group marriage of the bride's younger sisters to the same husband prevailed at least in the states of Lu ( 魯 ) (ex. C, D, E, & G), Wei ( 衛 ) (ex. A & F), Chin ( 晉 ) (ex. B & H), Li Jung ( 驪戎 ) (ex. B) (the above four states surnamed Chi 姬), Ch'i ( 齊 ) (ex. C), Chi ( 紀 ) (ex. G) (the above two surnamed Chiang 姜) Chen ( 陳 surnamed Wei 嬀 ) (ex. A), Sung ( 宋 surnamed Tzu 子 ) (ex. F), Lu ( 魯 surnamed Chi 己 ) (ex. D), Hu ( 胡 surnamed Kuei 歸 ) (ex. E) and Ch'in ( 秦 surnamed Ying 嬴 ) (ex. H), which represented almost most of the important surnames and feudal states of the Eastern Chou dynasty. Such a practice prevailed in the upper classes extending from state sovereigns to ministers.

A younger sister who has attained marriageable age follows the bride to her new

home. Otherwise, she has to stay at home until she comes of age. Compare the following note of Ho Hsiu (何休) on Kung Yang's *Commentary* on the seventh year of Yin Kung (公羊傳隱公七年):

"Shu Chi was *yin* or accompanying maiden of Pè Chi. She was not married until then because she was waiting to reach the marriageable age in her parents' country. A woman becomes a candidate for marriage at eight, a maid-in-waiting to the wife at fifteen, and is taken to bed by the husband at twenty (叔姬者，伯姬之媵也。至是乃歸者，待年父母國也。婦人八歲備數，十五從嬀，二十承事君子。)

A chain marriage entails a chain divorce. A divorce with one of the sisters necessarily implies a divorce with all the others. To quote from Tso's *Commentary* on the twelfth year of Wen Kung (左傳文公十二年), "Ch'i Huan Kung arrived to pay homage to the prince of Lu. It was the first time he came to pay homage. He requested to let Shu Chi be divorced but not to sever the whole ties of alliance. The prince consented to the request" (杞桓公來朝，始朝公也。且請絕叔姬而勿絕昏。公許之)。According to Tu Yü's notes, "not to sever the whole tie of alliance" implies the promotion of the accompanying younger sister to the prince's legal wifehood. Otherwise, the divorce with Shu Chi would have simultaneously meant the divorce with her accompanying younger sister too.

Moreover, the rearing of a child born of any one of the sisters was also of the nature of a chain. Ku Liang's *Commentary* on the eighteenth year of Wen Kung (穀梁傳文公十八年) contains the following passage: "The niece and younger sister accompany the bride to prevent the chance of orphanage. When one of them gives birth to a child, the whole trio should loosen their girdles" (姪娣者，不孤子之意也。一人有子，三人緩帶。)。The text was interpreted by Fan Ning to the effect that upon birth of a child they all undertook to nurse the offspring.

In the course of development of the system of *ti*, a new variant called *chih* (姪) arose during the eastern Chou dynasty. That is to say, in an alliance between two feudal houses, the bride was also followed by her niece, besides her younger sisters, to her new home. Instances that follow are taken from Tso's *Commentary*:

"The Marquis of Ch'i took a wife from Lu, called Yen I Chi but without issue. Her accompanying niece Tsung Shêng Chi begot Kuang who was later adopted as the heir-apparent" (齊侯娶於魯曰顏懿姬，無子。其姪驪聲姬生光，以為太子) (Hsiang Kung: 19th year 襄公十九年)。

"Tsang Hsuan Shu took a wife from Chu who begot Chia and Wei and soon died. Her accompanying niece was then promoted to be his second wife." (臧宣叔娶於鄒，生賈及爲而死。繼室以其姪。) (Hsiang Kung: 23rd year 襄公二十三年)。

Another peculiar matrimonial practice in the Eastern Chou dynasty was *chéng* (烝) or *pao* (報) which denotes incest or sexual relation with a woman of an older generation. The following instances are taken from Tso's *Commentary*:

A. Wei Hsuan Kung committed incest with Yi Chiang and begot Chi Tzu who was placed among the Royal Children of the Right. A wife was to be taken for him from Ch'i. As she appeared beautiful, Hsuan Kung married her himself and begot Shou and Shuo. Shou was placed among the Royal Children of the Left. Yi Chiang hanged herself. Hsuan Chiang and Shuo conspired together against Chi Tzu. Hsuan Kung sent Chi Tzu to Ch'i and meanwhile arranged an ambush at Hsin to entrap him. Shou went to inform him of the plot and persuaded him to escape. Chi Tzu would not consent, saying, "Should the father's words be disobeyed, what would be the use of begetting children! Such device of escaping would only do in a country where people know not their fathers." While setting out, Shou primed him with wine. Carrying his banner on his vehicle, Shou went before him. The men lying in wait killed him. When Chi Tzu arrived, he said, "They really want me; for what crime was he killed? Come on and kill me!" The men killed him also (衛宣公烝於夷姜，生急子，屬諸右公子。爲之娶於齊而美，公取之，生壽及朔。屬壽於左公子，夷姜嬖。宣姜與公子朔構急子，公使諸齊，使盜待諸莘，將殺之。壽子告之，使行，不可，曰，棄父之命，惡用子矣，有無父之國則可也。及行，飲以酒。壽子載其旌以先，盜殺之。急子至曰，我之求也，此何罪，請殺我乎。又殺之。) (*Huan Kung*: 16th year 桓公十六年). According to Tu Yü's notes, Yi Chiang was a concubine of Hsuan Kung's father.

B. Chin Hsian Kung took a wife from Chia but without issue. He committed incest with Ch'i Chiang and begot the countess of Ch'in Mu and the Heir-Apprent Shên Shêng. He also took two wives from Jung: the elder one begot Ch'ung Erh, and the younger one begot Yi Wu. He conquered the Li Jungs whose Baron gave him his daughter Li Chi. Li Chi gave birth to Hsi Ch'i, while her younger sister begot Cho Tzu (晉獻公娶於賈，無子。烝於齊姜，生秦穆夫人及太子申生。又娶二女於戎，大戎狐姬生重耳，小戎子生夷吾。晉伐驪戎，驪戎男，女以驪姬。歸，生奚齊，其娣生卓子。) (*Chuang Kung*: 28th year 莊公二十八年). According to Tu Yü's notes, Ch'i Chiang was a concubine of Wu Kung (武公), father of Hsian Kung.

C. When Hui Kung of Wei ascended the throne, he had not yet come of age; people of Ch'i sent Ch'ao Pê to commit incest with Hsuan Chiang. He would not yield but was finally forced to do so. Thereby were born Ch'i Tzu, Tai Kung, Wên Kung, the princess of Sung Huan and the Baroness of Hsü Mu. (初，惠公之即位也少，齊人使昭伯烝於宣姜，不可。強之，生齊子，戴公，文公，宋桓夫人，許穆夫人。) (*Ming Kung*: 2nd year 閔公二年).

D. The Marquis of Chin (Hui Kung) committed incest with Chia Chun (晉侯烝於賈君) (*Hsi Kung*: 15th year 僖公十五年). According to Tu Yü's



notes, Chia Chun was a daughter from Chia and Chin Hsian Kung's royal concubine of the second rank (晉獻公次妃).

E. Chêng Wên Kung had sexual relation with the concubine of Chêng Tzu called Ch'ên Wei (鄭文公報鄭子之妃曰陳嬀) (*Hsuan Kung: 3rd year* 宣公三年).

In all these instances, the concubines left by the deceased father when taken by the successor were on an equal footing with his other legal wives. At the same time, the sons whom such concubines begot were also on an equal footing with those begotten by the legal wives. Hence, they were also entitled to the heirship. The best instances were the adoption of Shên Shêng by Chin Hsian Kung as his legitimate eldest son (ex. B), the adoption of Chi Tzu by Wei Hsuan Kung as the heir-apparent and the whole-hearted support that the people of Wei accorded to the son of Ch'ao Pê, Tai Kung and Wên Kung (*Sze-ma Ch'ien's Chronicle: Record of the Royal House of Wei* 史記衛世家).

From the chronological view-point, the incest of Wei Hsuan Kung with Yi Chiang must have been committed when his elder brother Huan Kung was reigning. To commit incest with the deceased father's concubine was not necessarily the privilege of a state sovereign. A minister or high official might do it as well. Ch'ao Pê was not a state sovereign. And the incest of Hei Chien (黑肩), son of Lien Yin Hsiang Lao of Chu (楚連尹襄老) with Hsia Chi (夏姬) was also committed by a man of the status of a minister.

To unite in marriage with the deceased father's spouse is a common thing in a primitive society. A reading of Baldwin Spenser's *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (pp. 47-52) will further clarify this point. For instance, in the tribe of Kakadu, Tjilongogo and Ungara were cousins of the same clan. Ungara had a wife called Kumbainba. Upon the death of Ungara, Kumbainba was re-married to Monmuna, son of Tjilongogo. As primitives respect an uncle of the same clan as they do their own father, the marriage of Monmuna with Kumbainba was no other than an alliance with his deceased father's spouse. The first marriage of Kumbainba to Ungara was presided over by her father, while her second marriage to Monmuna was consummated by her uncle-in-law. It is a good evidence that serves to explain why Ch'ao P was compelled to commit incest by the people of Ch'i.

The alliance in marriage with the deceased father's spouse is a more advanced stage than *Levirate* or marriage with the spouse of the deceased elder brother, which in turn represents a further development of the system of joint ownership of wife by brothers. In the course of centralization of political power within a clan, one of the striking phenomena is the competition between the son and the younger brother for the inheritance of power. During the stage of joint ownership of power by brothers, all properties including wife were jointly owned by brothers. Later on, the power was



concentrated in the eldest brother. When he lived, no question would be raised. But as soon as he died, the matter of heirship caused intense rivalry. Which one was to come to power, the younger brother or the son? All privileges that the younger brother had formerly been entitled to were later shifted to the son. To marry the spouse of the deceased was one of these privileges. In case of *Levirate*, such privilege fell into the hands of the younger brother; while in the case of *chêng* and *pao* it fell into the hands of the son. Both cases derive from one and the same principle.

The system of group marriage with a woman and her sisters is to concentrate the matrimonial right of brothers, or at least a part thereof, in the eldest brother, to which the system of *Levirate* is complementary. In the field of politics, it corresponds to the concentration of political power in the eldest brother, to which the system of abdication to the younger brother is complementary. Likewise, all political power owned by the father is exactly what his son will own upon his death. The eldest brother concentrated in his possession not only the power of brothers but that of his son in days to come. This corresponds to the concentration not only of the matrimonial right of brothers but that of his son as well. That is why the niece of his wife should come to marry him too. Under the system of exogamy, intermarriage between the two clans concerned is carried on from generation to generation according to corresponding generation and grade. Usually, the woman whom the son is to marry is exactly the niece of the father's wife. Now that the right of the son is also concentrated in the father, the niece is under obligation to follow her aunt to marry the same lord. Upon the death of the father, all his right and privileges will automatically be descended to the son. The niece that the son was originally entitled to marry is now returned to him. Meanwhile, all the wives that his deceased father has left fall into his hands. Therefore, the custom of marriage with the wife's younger sisters and that of alliance with the deceased father's spouses merely represent two phases of one thing: the father enjoying in advance what is due to the son and the son inheriting what once belonged to his deceased father. A reading of Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia* (p. 112) will clear up this point. For instance, all the clans under control of the chieftain of the Trobriands should each present a woman to him as his wife. In case of her death, the clan concerned should present another one to fill the gap. But sometimes, the girl in question may not be presented to the chieftain but to his legal heir. For upon his death, all his wives will be given over to his heir. This instance serves to interpret the close relationship between the custom of *ti* and that of *chêng* and *pao*.

Sociologists have noticed "marriage by purchase" and "marriage by capture" in primitive societies. Chinese scholars like the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超) have called attention to "marriage by capture" in ancient Chinese society, as shown in the following quotations: "She held in the reins of her horse, tears falling unceasingly like drops of blood" (乘馬班如, 泣血漣如) (*The Book of Changes: T'un* 屯易) "It was through robbery that the marriage was consummated" (匪寇婚媾) (*The Book*

of Changes: *Pên* 易賁) Marriages in primitive society followed rigid rules. Even incest was committed in conformity with an unwritten tradition. "Marriage by purchase" and "marriage by capture," however, do not seem to have been regularized into customs in ancient China. I venture to suggest that at first it was the husband who came to live in the house of the wife. As time went on, man gradually became the center of society, and it was woman who now was married *into* the family of her husband. During the period of transition, marriage was sometimes consummated in the form of capture to show that the bride's departure from her parents was by compulsion, or in the form of purchase, viz., what *The Book of Rites* on *The Wedding Ceremony* (士婚禮) called *na pi* (納幣) or "presentation of money" in order to win the approval of the bride's family. Another similar case is that in a society where woman was the center, a child had to adopt the surname of the mother. When it had evolved to the stage of man-centered society, a child bears the surname of his father. To emphasize the change, the christening of a new-born child was often celebrated by a ceremony.

I have confined myself only to a few of the most salient characteristics of ancient Chinese society. But I think further parallels between ancient Chinese society and modern primitive society can be easily discovered. The moral is, as I have said at the beginning of the article, that human evolution follows definite patterns and undergoes certain definite stages. I hope that scholars will explore further afield on this subject.

#### NOTE

This article is based on my two books on the ancient Chinese society published since 1941. The first one is entitled "A First Draft of New Researches on Ancient Chinese Society" (中國古代社會新研初稿) published by the Lai Hsün K ê Bookshop (來薰閣), Peiping, 1941, and reprinted under the title of "New Researches on Ancient Chinese Society" (中國古代社會新研); by the Kai-ming Book Co., (開明書局) Shanghai, 1948. (2nd edition 1949). My second book is "History of the Ancient Chinese Society (中國古代社會史) in two volumes, published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation (中華文化出版事業委員會) Taipei, 1954. All these have the *Hsing* (姓) as the center of the studies, and I think most of the Chinese customs are derived from this.

# A Survey of the Historical Development of Chinese Philosophy

By Tsao Wen-yen 曹文彦

That Chinese civilization, one of the oldest in the world, has been a formative influence in the life of the peoples in the East is a fact established beyond controversy. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the impact of the West upon the East has led to a deeper appreciation of the teachings and works of great Chinese thinkers. A comprehensive historical survey of Chinese philosophy will bring to light the basic concepts of Chinese culture and prepare for a better understanding of the Chinese mind.

## I. CONFUCIANISM

Confucius once said that he was a transmitter rather than an originator. He meant that whatever he believed, taught and recorded was but a systematization and synthesis of the philosophic ideas of sages who lived before him. To be sure, he touched nothing that he did not adore, but a sound knowledge of Confucian teachings enables us to thoroughly understand the philosophy of the pre-Confucian era.

A. Life of Confucius.—Confucius who lived from 551 to 479 B. C., was a son of a military officer in the State of Lu. Like all well-educated men in the real sense of the term, he was self-taught. "I was not born with knowledge," he said, "but I am fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking knowledge therein." During his early manhood, he went to the Kingdom of Chow to make inquiries about ceremonies and maxims of the founders of the dynasty. While in Chow, he met Lao Tzu, the father of Taoism, and exchanged views, the result of which enhanced his knowledge. In the *Analects* he says: "Among any three persons there must be one who can be your teacher." Indeed one lives and learns; life itself is a continuous schooling.

When 56 years old, he was appointed Minister of Justice in the State of Lu, and in three months of his administration, he put all crimes to an end. The ruling Duke of Lu, however, failed to observe the virtues Confucius insisted upon, and the Sage reluctantly resigned. Leaving the State of Lu, he visited other states for a period of 13 years, with the object of securing the patronage of some ruler, who could appoint him to a position whereby he could put his political and ethical beliefs into practice. It was not a successful quest, for the rulers of his time were militarists who lacked faith in the efficacy of moral and ethical ideals which alone the Sage advocated as essen-

tial to good government. He succeeded, however, in propagating his teachings, and won the respect of the intellectual and learned men of the era. He is said to have had 3,000 students, among whom 72 were the most accomplished scholars of the day.

*Tel arbre, tel fruit.* A philosophy is not born in a vacuum, but is the outcome of its environment. Confucianism is no exception. Although Confucius did not claim to be the founder of a brand-new school of philosophy, the social and political ferment of his time gave an impetus to the development of his philosophy and made it what it is.

During the lifetime of the Sage, the Dynasty of Chow (1134 to 256 B. C.) was on the decline. For about five centuries, state contended against state, and clan against clan, the result being chronic misrule, with frequent famines, wars and intrigues. According to Mencius (371 to 288 B. C.), Confucius appeared at a critical moment in the national history, when the world had fallen into decay and right principles had disappeared. Pernicious views and immoral deeds were rife; ministers murdered their rulers, and sons their fathers. Confucius was alarmed at what he saw, and he undertook the work of spiritual reform.

B. The Fundamental Principles of Confucianism.—Although the *Analects* is but a sketchy record of a series of *ipse dixit magister*, we may weave these dangling threads into a coherent fabric.

1. The Doctrine of the Mean—One of the fundamental principles of Confucianism is Moderation, or the Doctrine of the Mean, which was not new at the time of Confucius but an old virtue observed ages before by great rulers like Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and Emperor Tang. In the *Shuking*, or *Book of History*, which contains the earliest Chinese political documents, Emperor Yao, on his voluntary abdication, advised Emperor Shun to "hold the Mean." Of Shun, Confucius said: "He indeed was greatly wise. He loved to question others and study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and revealed what was good. He took hold of the two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun." Mencius said of Emperor Tang that he "held the Mean." Emperor Tang listened to both sides of a question and steered a middle course in giving an opinion which was not only reasonable but also practical.

In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which was presumably written by Confucius' grand son, Tzu Szu, we read: "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium. When these feelings have been stirred and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called a state of harmony. This equilibrium is the great root from which grow all human actions in the world, and this harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourishing."

What Tzu Szu meant was to educate oneself to become a superior man by controlling one's passions, which were the springs of behavior. One's passions being regulated according to the Principle of *nec-nimis*, a reasonable behavior will then be attained, leading to an harmonious form of existence.

In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Tzu Szu quoted Confucius as follows: "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in; the knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood; the men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not approach it." The saying contains a grain of perennial truth. In a world where extreme "isms" contend for supremacy, it is the middle course, which avoids the excesses of all, that will bring the greatest happiness to the greatest number of men.

2. Confucius' Idea of Benevolence.—The Chinese term *Jen* has been translated into English by different authors as Love, Benevolence, Sympathy, Charity, Humanity, Goodness of Heart, the Highest Virtue, Loving Kindness, Unselfishness, Altruism and the Feeling of Fellowship. However, none of these terms, used singly, is comprehensive enough to bring out all the meanings of *Jen*. The real meaning of this term is "Man." The Chinese character for *Jen* conveys the idea of "two men." Therefore, *Jen* is a high virtue regulating the ideal relations between man and man.

Tzu-kung, one of the disciples of Confucius, asked if the Master could give him one word to serve as a rule of life. The Master said: "Would not 'Considerateness' be such a word? What you do not wish others to do unto you, do not do unto others."

The teaching of *Jen*, though less striking in its negative than in its positive and Christian form, emphasises self-examination as a guide to reasonable conduct.

Furthermore, this dictum *Jen*, like the proverbial charity which begins at home and from home, teaches us to start from near to far, from easy to difficult, from within to without. Filial piety to our parents, reverence to our own elders and love of our own children, are the first steps towards loving others. By extending this love and reverence we can achieve the virtue of *Jen*. In the works of Mencius, we find the following passage:

"Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated—do this, and the empire may be made to go round in your palm."

With this willing sympathy towards mankind, a true Confucian will not only endeavor to rectify himself, but also aim at the rectification of others. In the *Analects*, Confucius says: "Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others."



Tzu-Kung, addressing Confucius, said: "Master, are you a Sage?" Confucius replied: "Nay, that I cannot say. I am never weary of learning; I am always ready to teach—that much I can say of myself." "Master," replied Tzu-Kung "you are never weary of learning—that shows how wise you are; you are always ready to teach—that shows how loving you are. Endowed as you are with Love and Wisdom—Master, in very truth you are a Sage."

In practising the teaching of benevolence or the virtue of *Jen*, one has to possess the spirit of valor. In the *Analects*, Confucius says: "The determined scholar and man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring his virtue of *Jen*. He will even sacrifice his life to preserve his virtue complete."

As to the way in which the virtue of *Jen* manifests itself in action, Confucius says in the *Analects*: "In the domestic relationships, it is shown in the maintenance of a balance between familiarity and reserve; in the management of affairs, it is shown in courtesy; in the general intercourse with mankind, it is shown in loyalty and good faith. Even when contact is made with uncivilized peoples, kindly sympathy or *Jen* must not be withheld." It coincides with the Sage's famous and oft-quoted remark, "Within the four seas"—supposed to be the boundaries of the known world—"all are brothers." Narrow nationalism and racial prejudice are unknown to Confucianism.

3. Confucius' Idea of Good Government and Social Order.—The Confucian idea of good government is the rectification of names. To Confucius, a good government could be obtained when the ruler was ruler and the ministers ministers. "To govern means to rectify; if you lead the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?" "If a superior love propriety, the people will not dare to be irreverent. If he love good faith, the people will not dare to be insincere." "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct be not correct, he may issue orders but they will not be followed." "If a minister's own conduct be correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

In the *Great Learning*, we find the key to good government, which emphasizes the cultivation of the person as the root of everything else. "In order to cultivate the ideal personality it is essential to complete knowledge by the investigation of things; the knowledge being completed, the thoughts would be sincere; the thoughts being sincere, the heart would then be rectified; the heart being rectified, the person would be cultivated; the person being cultivated, the family would be regulated; the family being regulated, the state would be rightly governed; the world would then be made tranquil and happy."

In contradistinction to government by law, Confucius advocated government by propriety. He said: "When rulers observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls for service." Also, he went on to say: "In hearing litigations, I am not unlike any others. What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litiga



tions." It is tantamount to saying, "prevention is better than cure." Further, he said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good." The way to eliminate crime is to train the people to observe moral principles and adhere to the rules of strict propriety—in the achievement of which mere legislation apparently fails.

In the maintenance of a good social order, the rectification of names is also applicable. Confucianism divides human relations into five categories, namely, between the ruler and the ruled, between parents and children, between husband and wife, between brothers and sisters, and between friends. To Confucius, rulers must be rulers, ministers ministers, fathers fathers, sons sons, husband husband, and wife wife, each fulfilling the duties proper to his or her station. There should always be benevolence on the part of the superior and loyalty on the part of the inferior, so that an ideal social order can be maintained.

C. Confucianism and Religion.—Our analysis above may perhaps remove the vulgar error of taking Confucianism for a religion. It is rather a social and political philosophy, pragmatic and not speculative.

In reply to an enquiry of one of his disciples, Confucius said: "While you cannot serve man, how can you serve the spirits? While you do not know life, what can you know about death?" In the Confucian *Analects* the vague impersonal term "Heaven" means simply an ideal order of things, the rational principle, "the realm of ends," somewhat equivalent to the Platonic Ideal and the Christian Word. "Respect deities and spirits, but keep away from them" is one of his famous sayings and can be quoted as evidence to prove the non-religious character of Confucianism.

D. Confucius as a Great Man.—Confucius had a grave missionary spirit without the fanatic missionary zeal. Amid the social and political chaos of his lifetime, he bore the responsibility of awakening the people. "It is impossible," he said, "to withdraw from the world and associate with birds and beasts that have no affinity with us; with whom should I associate but with the suffering people? The disorder that prevails is what requires my efforts." It seems that he would not but be true to his humane and righteous mission. Since his death, the Sage has become an object of unbounded admiration. The title given to Confucius in the Sung dynasty, "the most sage ancient teacher; the all-accomplished, all-informed king," shows the veneration in which he was held by the Chinese people.

## II. PERIOD OF PHILOSOPHICAL FLOWERING

The period approximately from 722 B. C., the year marking the beginning of the *Annals of Lu*, down to 246 B. C., the year of the unification of the seven kingdoms by the Emperor of Ch'in, is regarded as one of chaos. It is also considered as

a period of philosophical efflorescence unparalleled in Chinese history. Its causes are briefly as follows:

The Chinese educational system before this period was divided into two departments, "*Kuo Hsue*" or national schools and "*Shiang Hsue*" or local schools—the former for the education of aristocracy, the latter for the instruction of the people. There was a certain difference in degree of learning between these two, but the subjects of study, such as manners, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy and mathematics, were the same. As to the more advanced study of the art of administration and government, it was imparted by high officials to those of lower grade, the teachers and the taught both necessarily belonging to the aristocracy. This cast-iron tradition made studies stereotyped and musty. However, since the beginning of the *Annals of Lu*, the Chow Dynasty began to decline. Constant warfare reduced the number of states with the result that many aristocrats lost their privileged positions and influence. Feudalism gradually waned and it was not uncommon in that period for plebeians to rise to power. Hence, higher learning was no longer confined to the privileged class, and its teachers were not necessarily high officials of the government. Confucius and his school were shining examples. With this abrupt change in the political and social organization resulting in the spread of education, naturally there arose a host of philosophical schools.

A. Taoism.—Of these various schools of thought, Taoism stands out pre-eminent.

Li Erh, better known as Lao Tzu (born 604 B. C.?) was the founder of the Taoist school which in its pristine form like a spring pure at its source, had nothing to do with the modern conglomeration of witchcraft, sorcery, astrology and demonology, which pass under its name. The *Tao Te Ching*, a classic attributed to Lao Tzu, contains some significant dogmas of Taoist philosophy. "Tao" means the way, "Te" means virtue. Lao Tzu, like all mystics of the Immanent School, held the belief that there is always a unity underlying all diversity, a changelessness lying behind all change, an infinite surrounding the finite. This nameless thing is the eternal principle of the universe, which for the want of a better word may be called "Tao." Lao Tzu thought that, when one walked in accordance with this eternal principle, keeping alongside this Tao, right conduct or high virtue could be attained.

It would be wrong to regard Lao Tzu as an anarchist in his political philosophy. Although he proposed to reduce the function of government to the minimum, he did not go so far as to denounce government entirely. The end of government, according to Lao Tzu, should be the welfare of the people. "Filling their bellies with food" should be the main function of the government. Having fulfilled this function, the government should not go any further in interfering with the people. He had strong disgust of government by legislation. "The more laws and commands there are," he said, "the greater the number of thieves and robbers." Indeed his was a philosophy of non-interference in government, the logical consequence of naturalism in ethics. He believed that a government which did nothing was an ideal government. His ideal philosopher-king is a *roi fainéant*. If the ruler could leave the people in their state of primitive freedom, universal happiness would be achieved.

To Lao Tzu, as to J. J. Rousseau, civilization spells degeneration. Contrary to the teaching of Confucius, who worshipped antiquity and revered the Golden Age of Yao and Shun, Lao Tzu, who did not have the slightest reverence for ancient sages, said: "There would be no end to robbery if 'sages' did not die." What the ruler should bear in his mind was advocated by Lao Tzu as follows:

If you do not esteem the gifted ones, the people will cease from rivalry.  
If you do not prize rare goods, the people will stop stealing.  
If you do not display what is desirable, the people's hearts will remain at peace.  
Therefore, this is how a king should rule his people:—  
Emptying their hearts of desires;  
Filling their bellies with food;  
Weakening their ambitions;  
Strengthening their bones.

His object is to keep the people without knowledge and without desires, and to prevent even the knowing ones from any interference.

Do nothing and everything will be set in order.

"Doing Nothing" is also the keynote of Lao Tzu's philosophical idea of personal virtue. "Whosoever endeavors, fails," he said, "he who seizes, loses. The holy man does nothing, so fails in nothing." Again, he taught: "There is no sin greater than desire. There is no misfortune greater than not to know when one has had enough; there is no fault greater than greed of gain." He even went so far as to expound paradoxically the wisdom of stupidity, the strength of weakness, the shrewdness of being inconspicuous. Chuang Tzu, one of Lao Tzu's followers, expatiated on the advantages of uselessness. He told of seeing a very big gnarled tree which had lasted centuries, and he knew that it must have escaped the axe because of its uselessness, otherwise, he said, it would never have existed unto that day. This high virtue of eliminating personal desire, lying low and returning to Nature may be also called the way of Tao.

Lao Tzu was a great lover of peace. There is striking similarity between the Christian teaching of "the other cheek" and the Taoist teaching of love. Lao Tzu taught: "I am good to the good; I am also good to the bad; for virtue is goodness. With the faithful I am faithful; with the unfaithful I am also faithful; for virtue is faithfulness. Requite enmity with kindness." Peacelover as he was, he naturally hated war, either as an instrument of national policy or as a means to achieve selfish ends.

B. Mao Tzu.—Mao Tzu, a contemporary of Confucius, had universal love as the fundamental theme of his philosophy. The difference between his doctrine of universal love and the teaching of Jesus lies in the fact that the Chinese philosopher is a utilitarian. Universal love, according to Mao Tzu, would make the world a better place to live in; there is no other-worldliness about it. Brotherhood among states would

eliminate war; love between the ruler and the ruled would obviate rebellion; love between individuals would diminish personal antagonisms.

*A fortiori*, Mao Tzu opposed war. His anti-war attitude was naturally the reflection of the militarist reign of terror which dominated his age.

Another tenet in Mao Tzu's philosophy is thrift, which was also rooted in his utilitarian outlook. He opposed the Confucian principle of propriety, usually ceremonial and formal in nature, the practice of which was, in his opinion, too expensive.

While Confucius acknowledged himself ignorant of spiritual and immortal beings, Mao Tzu, on the other hand had much to say of the existence of Heaven and deities who blessed the good and condemned the evil. Yet with him religion is a practical state function and has nothing numinous about it. At the same time, he thought that there was no predestination of human fate. He warned that disaster was the outcome of corrupt government, prosperity was the result of honest administration, and that similarly misfortune in life was the effect of wickedness, and happiness the reward for righteousness.

C. Mencius.—As Aristotle was to Plato, so Mencius was to Confucius. The furtherance and spread of Confucianism must be ascribed in no small measure to the efforts of Mencius.

1. Benevolence and Righteousness.—Although Mencius lived in the time of the Warring Kingdoms, when state was fighting against state, and right gave way to might, his idea of good government and social order was based on the teaching of benevolence and righteousness. His argument was that, if everyone sought personal profit, if superior and inferior snatched this profit from one another, the State would be endangered. In reply to one of the princes who asked advice, Mencius said: "Benevolence and righteousness would be the only themes, for there would never be a man trained to benevolence who would neglect his parents. Similarly, there would never be a man trained to righteousness who made his sovereign a secondary consideration."

Further, Mencius was a philosophical teacher who based his theory on practical reasoning. The teaching of benevolence and righteousness would be impossible while economic well-being of the people was not safeguarded. In one of his passages he gave prominence to this idea by stressing particularly the importance of planned economy, such as rural productivity, reafforestation, the conducting of model farms, and the breeding of livestock, by which, in providing an abundance of necessities, the happiness of the people could be ensured. The passage runs:

"Only men of education and culture, though without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people generally, if they have not a certain livelihood, they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of

depravity, and of licentiousness. When they thus have been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them would be to entrap the people."

2. Father of Democracy.—Mencius is regarded as the father of democracy, for he insisted that the welfare of the people should take precedence over the private interest of the ruler. The ruler was allowed to rule, according to Mencius, so long as he adhered to the principles of benevolence and righteousness. Once he was asked by one of the ruling princes, whether it was right for a minister to put the ruler to death. In reply, Mencius said: "He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian is called a mere fellow." And he concluded that the ruler who lacked the virtues of benevolence and righteousness was no longer a sovereign but a mere fellow whom anybody could either depose or put to death. Far in advance of his time, Mencius had a strong conviction of democratic government even during the reign of monarchical and despotic rule.

3. Human Nature Inherently Good—Mencius believed that a government and society based on the principles of benevolence and righteousness was possible, because human nature was inherently good. His optimism is reflected in his famous saying: "All men have a mind which cannot bear to see the suffering of others." He reached the conclusion that if men did what was not good the blame could not be imputed to their natural powers. Mencius proved his doctrine that inborn nature was good by asserting that the feeling of commiseration belonged to all men as did that of shame and dislike, that of reverence and respect, and that of approving and disapproving. None of these things were infused into us from without; we were certainly furnished with them as an original part of our moral nature. Hence, he suggested, "Seek and you will find them, neglect and you will lose them."

#### D. Legalism.

1. Shyun Tzu: The Wickedness of Human Nature.—Contrary to Mencius' idea that human nature was good, Shyun Tzu, who, according to Dr. Hu Shih, lived from about 305 to 235 B. C., declared human nature to be wicked. Shyun Tzu maintained that goodness was due to man-ordered propriety and law, so being good is mere artifice. In one of his treatises, Shyun Tzu insisted that, from the cradle to the grave, man is selfish and avaricious, grabbing profit and exploiting the weak.

2. Han Fei.—Han Fei, one of Shyun Tzu's disciples, adhered to the philosophy of the wickedness of inborn human nature and denounced the Confucian idea of government by propriety; instead, he advocated government by strict enforcement of rigid law. Equality before the law was his dictum.

3. Shang Yang.—Shang Yang, Prime Minister of Ch'in in the period of the Warring Kingdoms, ruled the State of Ch'in in accordance with law. He condemned the prince, the heir to the throne, who had broken the law, by punishing the prince's



tutor, to show that everyone was equal before the bar of justice. The State of Ch'in governed by the rule of law thus secured power, and eventually incorporated the other six states to form the Empire of Ch'in.

### III. SUPREMACY OF CONFUCIANISM

After the establishment of the Empire of Ch'in, the king proclaimed himself to be the First Emperor in the year 246 B. C. He had the idea that if the people were ignorant they would be easier to rule, and consequently regarded scholars with suspicion and hatred. Therefore he ordered, in the year 213 B. C., that all books except those on agriculture, divination and medicine be burnt, and that anyone in possession of prohibited books be condemned to death. Some scholars hid their books, while others memorized the Confucian Canon and other important philosophical works by heart; otherwise the whole literature and philosophical writings of China from the earliest days to that time would have been irretrievably lost.

As the Empire of Ch'in was short-lived (246 to 207 B. C.) the spread of philosophical thought was not seriously retarded. By the time of the Han dynasty (207 B. C. to 219 A. D.), Confucianism excelled all other philosophical doctrines in its prestige and influence. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, who reigned from 140 to 86 B. C. issued decrees in which all non-Confucian schools of thought were denounced as heretic and only the Confucian classics, such as the *Book of Changes*, *Book of Propriety*, *Book of History*, *Book of Poems*, and the *Annals of Lu*, were authorized to constitute the basis of high learning.

### IV. TAOISM AS A PHILOSOPHY AND AS A RELIGION

In the latter part of the Han Dynasty, the rulers gradually lost their power, and the Empire was at sixes and sevens. In the Wei and Tsin dynasties, 220 to 264 A. D. and 264 to 419 A. D. respectively, which succeeded the Han dynasty, China was overrun, especially in the north, by foreign races. The suffering of the people beggared imagination. Amidst this chaos, philosophies of an escapist character arose in opposition to Confucianism.

A. Ho Yien and Wang Bih.—Among the Taoist scholars of Wei and Tsin periods, Ho Yien and Wang Bih were the foremost. Ho Yien advocated the doctrine of doing nothing, and believed that a real sage should be selfless and free from passions. Wang Bih, however, acknowledged that the real sage has passions, which are only appropriate responses to happenings, though his inmost ego remains serene and calm. Many scholars of this school even went so far as to renounce ceremony and propriety, pretending to be indifferent to existing conventions and social customs, neglecting personal appearance, dressing in shabby clothes, and abandoning themselves to excesses. In this respect, they are like the Greek cynics. Liu Ling, one of the most prominent men of letters of the time often had a lad follow him with a spade, with the instruction that wherever he should die as a result of intoxication,

there the lad must bury him. Life was considered meaningless, and personal enterprise and heroic undertaking were laughed to scorn. These eccentricities were due, as has been mentioned, to the instability of the regime and the chaotic social conditions.

B. Taoism as a Religion.—The transformation of Taoism into a religion can be traced to the latter part of the Han Dynasty, when a man by the name of Chang Lin pirated the teaching of Lao Tzu and mingled it with superstition and Buddhist ritual practice. It is supposed to be the first religion indigenous to Chinese soil, and gradually developed into a system of worship embracing belief in fairies, incantations, magic, witchcraft, astrology and legend with its priesthood and pope. During the Wei and Tsin dynasties, while many intellectuals believed in Taoism, as Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu taught it, ordinary people were infatuated this jumble of fetiches. Even among the *Cognoscenti*, many were misled by the Taoist medical quackery, and shortened the span of their life in the very attempt to prolong it by quaffing poisonous potions allegedly representing the elixir of life. Meanwhile, Buddhism, which was probably introduced into China during the reign of Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty, who had sent envoys to India in 61 A. D. to secure the Buddhist scriptures, began to take root. There was a strong rivalry between Taoism as a religion and Buddhism. Although in the year 446 A. D. many Buddhist monks were persecuted, and Buddhist monasteries burnt down by imperial order, Buddhist doctrines were deeply imbedded among the mass of the people. Through the effort of great monks and accomplished scholars who translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, a new inspiration stimulated Chinese philosophy, which for hundreds of years had been dominated by Confucianism.

## V. A TRIO OF "ISMS"

A. Struggle for Supremacy.—Buddhism had such powerful fascination that Emperor Wu of Liang, 502-549, A. D., neglected state affairs in order to devote himself to the pursuit of eternal happiness in Nirvana. The influence of Buddhism upon the Chinese people generally can be readily imagined. For hundreds of years Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism have formed the trio of "isms" in China, with Confucianism leading in the bulk of its followers.

In the Tang Dynasty, 618-935 A. D., Taoism gained supremacy owing to the rather trivial reason that the surname of the Tang Dynasty was Li, the same as that of the founder of the Taoist philosophy. A temple of Lao Tzu was built almost in every town, and Lao Tzu was posthumously honored with the title "The Greatest Emperor of Metaphysics." According to authentic history, six emperors of the Tang Dynasty died as a result of taking poisonous medicines prepared according to Taoist prescriptions for prolonging life. Buddhism suffered a severe setback. Thousands of monks and nuns were ordered by the Imperial authorities to leave the monasteries and convents and revert to secular life. In the year 845 A. D. approximately two hundred and sixty thousand monks and nuns were hounded out and millions of acres of land, which comprised the estates of monasteries and convents, were confiscated. However, the influence of Confucianism did not wane. The civil service examination, which started in the Han

Dynasty and became an established institution in the Tang Dynasty, required a profound knowledge of Confucianism, thus Confucian doctrines and classics were the "open sesame" to the gate of officialdom.

B. Neo-Confucianism.—Taoism as a philosophy was convincing with its nihilistic outlook on life and its mystical reconciliation of contradictions too had an irresistible fascination for the mass of the people. After centuries of existence in the soil of China, both Taoism and Buddhism took deep root in the lives of the people socially and psychologically. Their wines were put into the Confucian bottle and resulted in a new syncretistic philosophy which is called Neo-Confucianism.

C. Chu Hsi.—Thinkers of the Sung Dynasty (960-1127 A. D.) succeeded in working out a synthesis of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. This eclectic and synthetic product flourished throughout not only the Sung era, but also the two dynasties which followed. Although this synthesis went on for ages and a number of scholars contributed each his mite, the efforts of one very remarkable man—Chu Hsi—(1130-1200 A. D.) were mainly responsible for it. Chu Hsi, like Confucius, was a transmitter rather than an originator. His main purpose was to elucidate the commentary on the Confucian classics by the brothers Cheng Hao (1032-1085 A. D.) and Cheng I (1033-1107 A. D.). Chu Hsi began his life as an official and attained high position. He revised the works of early Chinese thinkers and most of his time was occupied in the study of the *Analects*, of which elaborate interpretations were embodied in a series of books entitled *The Collected Interpretations of the Analects*. He also distinguished himself as an historian and writer on metaphysics. He immersed his mind in forming a theory that the universe evolved from ether; ether gradually coalescing formed a single nucleus, which, in time, separated into two, and whirled around each other. Hence, he discovered Yin and Yang or the male and female forces in nature by the interaction of which the universe and all things in it were created.

But cosmogony has its ethical significance. Chu Hsi defined goodness as getting access to one's real heart. By real heart he meant the original state of conscience, equivalent to that state before the creation of the cosmos which did not experience gaiety, anger, grief or delight. Once a man began to pursue his own private ends, harassed by rage and desire, he ceased to be, in any proper sense, a man. Therefore, by getting the heart back to its original state, wherever he went, there would be goodness. That this interpretation of goodness or high virtue was to a large extent influenced by Buddhist and Taoist doctrines is quite apparent. Chu Hsi was gradually recognized as the orthodox master, and during the Ming Dynasty (1403-1644 A. D.) he was canonized as a sage, "the greatest after Confucius."

## VI. WANG YANG-MING

The influence of Chu Hsi began to fade when the great thinker of the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528 A. D.) came to the fore. A versatile genius, Wang is equally distinguished as a statesman, a strategist, a man of let-

ters and a philosopher. His is the most outspoken idealism within the Confucian fold. According to him, from the sage down to the ordinary man, one thing in common was inborn conscience. By "inborn" conscience, he meant the innate feeling and judgment of what was good or evil, right or wrong. By the cultivation of this inborn faculty, any man could be a sage. Evil was the result of not being guided by this conscience, which alone could safeguard one in the right path.

By clearing the "inborn conscience" one can obtain true knowledge, Wang Yang-ming used the simile of "polishing the mirror." In a superior man knowledge and action must be synchronized. "Knowledge and action must not be separate. Knowledge is the mother of action, action is the effect of knowledge. A true knowledge must always be practicable. Knowledge without action is equal to ignorance, or the knowledge is imperfect. Therefore, the real worth of a true knowledge lies in action, the essence of effective action is found in true knowledge. Before taking any action, investigation of things from different angles is indispensable in order that a complete knowledge may be obtained. Then applying knowledge to action, one has to ignore the consequences and remain unshaken."

Wang Yang-ming's doctrine not only gained a following in China but also spread abroad to Japan. That national consciousness which culminated in the Japanese Restoration Movement was confessedly fostered by Wang Yang-ming's dynamic philosophy.

In the Manchu or Ching dynasty (1644-1911 A. D.), intellectual effort was confined mainly to philology and textual criticism of the classics. Speculative philosophy was rather sneered at as an idle pastime unworthy of serious students.

## VII. DR. SUN YAT-SEN

The introduction of Western civilization to China during the latter half of the 19th century, together with the corruption and deterioration of the Manchu regime, gave rise to a more constructive and progressive philosophy, that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic.

A. Knowledge Difficult, Action Easy.—The fundamental principle of his theory is found in the cardinal dictum that "knowledge is difficult, action is easy." This dictum can be verified in every field of human activities. Take driving a motor car, for instance. To use a car is easy, to understand how it works is not so simple. Owing to the efficacy of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrine in eliminating the old belief that action was difficult and knowledge easy, the psychological confidence and the morale of the revolutionists were created. Thus, the new dictum helped to pave the way for the national revolution in 1911.

### B. The Central Force in History.

In contradistinction to Karl Marx's theory that history gravitates about material forces, which are the basis of human progress, and that, if the material basis of life

changes, the world also changes, Dr. Sun Yat-sen held the conviction that livelihood, or struggle for living, is the central force in social progress, and that social progress is the central force in history; hence the struggle for living, not material forces, determines history.

While Marx considered class war the cause, and social progress the effect, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, emphasized that society progressed through the adjustment of major economic interests, and by harmonizing various contrasting elements, rather than through the clash of interests. Here the Confucian Doctrine of the Golden Mean is manifested.

C. The Essence of Equality.—Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, the teaching of equality among human beings has been an inspiration of modern political and economic institutions. However, we have to admit that equality—that human beings are born equal—is an artificial and fallacious theory in so far as natural endowments of intelligence and ability are concerned. Dr. Sun, as a great thinker, would naturally mingle his doctrines with the theory of equality, and he solved the dilemma by adhering to the old Chinese saying, "The skilful are always the slaves of the stupid." His philosophy of life is to serve and to benefit others. "Those with greater intelligence and ability," he said, "should serve thousands and tens of thousands to the limit of their power, and make thousands and tens of thousands happy; those with less intelligence and ability should serve tens and hundreds to the limit of their power and make tens and hundreds happy; those who do not have much intelligence nor ability should still to the limit of their individual power each serve one another and make one another happy. This is the essence of equality."

D. New Nationalism.—The greatness of Dr. Sun's political outlook is especially obvious in the new nationalism, as contrasted to the traditional narrow nationalism and imperialism. He said: "The road which the Great Powers are travelling today points to the destruction of other states; if China, when she becomes strong, intends to crush other countries, imitates the Great Powers' imperialism and embarks on their road, she will ultimately fall into their blunder. Only by adhering to the Chinese proverb: 'Rescue the weak and lift the fallen,' will China be carrying out the divine obligation of her nation. Let us today, before China's development begins, pledge ourselves to undertake this great mission; then we will be able, as Confucius said, to govern the State and pacify the World."

E. Revival of Ancient Virtue and Wisdom.—In his *Three Principles of the People*, Dr. Sun urges the people to revive the ancient virtues, such as loyalty, filial devotion, benevolence and love, faithfulness and justice, harmony and peace, which were taught by Confucius. In the same work he praises Confucian political philosophy embodied in the Great Learning, which called upon man to develop outward from within, to begin with his inner nature and strive systematically with unceasing effort, until the world is at peace. "Such a deep, all-embracing logic," he said, "is not found in or spoken by any foreign political philosopher. It is a nugget of wisdom peculiar to China's philosophy of government, and worthy to be preserved." From what has



been quoted, we can realize that Dr. Sun's philosophy is a happy marriage of the West and the East, the Old and the New.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Since the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Confucianism has become the undisputed orthodoxy. Civil service examinations served to perpetuate the influence and enhance the prestige of Confucianism, for successful candidates had to have Confucian classics by rote. The *Four Books* and *Five Classics* used as text books by students until the beginning of the present century helped to a great extent in forming the Chinese national characteristics, such as moderation, love of peace, reasonableness, humaneness, tenacity, and optimism, which have made China great and her history glorious. Although Confucian doctrine has been interpreted in different lights by different scholars, and Taoism and Buddhism had some influence on it, Confucianism has remained fundamentally unchanged. It may be safe to say that the greatness of Confucianism lies in the Doctrine of the Mean. While the Taoist philosophy of returning to nature and doing nothing, and the Buddhist teaching of the futility of life and withdrawing from the world belong to the extremes, Confucian doctrines always adhere to the middle course. Therefore, Confucianism is a working philosophy of life which has courage to face the world, wisdom to understand it, and patience to ameliorate it.

That Confucianism still commands the highest respect among the Chinese people can be seen from the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on May 31, 1934, that August 27, the birthday of Confucius, should be observed as a National Holiday, on which official delegates of the Government should participate in the sacrificial ceremonies at Chufu, the birth place of the Great Sage.

## Jade, a Symbol of an Ancient Civilization

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Jade is the world's oldest material symbol. It is symbolic of the life of an ancient people,—the Chinese,—reaching back for thousands of years. The living with jade by the Chinese is more racial and more characteristic of their culture than their consumption of rice; it is indivisible from their life. As a symbol of this people and as a significant medium for artistic, religious, and national expression, jade in all its variety of structure and color is unique! No other medium for such symbolic and for such artistic expression has been embellished by the spirit and the hands of the lapidary or artist anywhere in the world to the extent that jade has been by the Chinese, not for a few centuries but for the millenia. Jade has been connected with the past, the present, and the future of the Chinese as well as with their philosophy of life. (Fig. 1)

Jade became a part of the higher government of the Chinese nation many centuries ago as exemplified in the topmost level by the *jade throne* of the emperors and jade scepter or *ju-i* (如意) for many officials (Fig. 2). The governmental authority was substantially lodged in the *Imperial Seal* (*hsi*: 璽) which transmitted the authority of the State from one ruler to another. The use of jade as a symbol extends backwards into the early beginning of Chinese culture or at least to the middle of the Shang (商) Dynasty which ended around 1500 B.C. The early Chinese jades have been divided by A. G. Wenley into four general types: "religious symbols, badges of office, funerary offerings for the dead, and ornamental objects". And many of these were military or agricultural implements connected with governmental or religious ceremonies. In Chinese and Occidental museums we find ceremonial daggers, knives or other emblems of rank (Fig. 3), and ritual objects such as the perforated jade disc *pi* (璧; Figs. 1 and 4) as a symbol of the deity heaven and the squared, hollow cylinder *ts'ung* for the deity earth. Even in these ancient times small animals, birds, and insects were carved out of jade and employed in burial or other rites. Elaborate necklaces and belt hooks date from early dynasties.

It is exceedingly difficult for a non-Oriental to understand the extreme veneration and indeed deep sacredness that the Chinese nation has had for jade and jade objects. This veneration, this sacredness, this respect arose as jade became over the course of thirty centuries a part and parcel of their living, of their feeling for ancestors, and of their hope and expectation of immortality. Jade became the mystic gift from heaven. It came from the earth and it tied earth to heaven and to whatever gods might be.

The living with jade everyday by the Chinese is the practical yet idealistic realization and ultimate appreciation for the symbolism of jade in their nation's past and their acknowledgment of its beauty and significance in their present. To jade were postulated miraculous powers such as healing of the sick and preservation of the body after death. Frequently jade was taken as medicine either powdered or as pellets and it was thought to cure specific diseases or to gain a long life free from misfortune. In early centuries, at death all nine openings of the body were covered with specially carved jade pieces and this custom is followed even now to a lessened extent with mouth pieces of jade. Jade was held to project the body and soul into immortality.

While jade is the oldest of the symbols of man, there are indeed many material and spiritual objects that have been of inspiration to peoples other than the Chinese. We call to mind the cross as the emblem of Christianity, the Stone of Scone on which the kings and queens of England have been crowned for over six centuries with the various regal symbols of their majestic past such as the ruby of the Black Prince and the gorgeous diamonds embellishing England's crowns and scepters. And even in the United States, the President and other officials take their oaths of office on the sacred symbol of the Bible. To the laws and other official documents are attached the "great seal of the United States"—another symbol!

Jade was prized by the Chinese above gold but its intrinsic value was much enhanced by the skill of the lapidary-artists in producing their elaborate and characteristic carvings. Likewise the Mexicans in the day of Cortez never understood why the Spaniards prized gold above their rare jade, to them it was also a part of their prehistoric culture.

The Chinese, in their philosophical view of the universe, symbolized the heavens as a round disc which they called a *pi* (Figs. 1 and 4). Such discs are of all sizes and date from Shang times when they were usually plain. Later these symbols of heaven were decorated with scrolls, grains, and geometric designs,—and dragons in high relief. For this symbol of heaven the center hole is one third the total diameter. Other somewhat similar rings were indications of rank or were used as astronomical devices. In a somewhat analogous way, the ancient symbol of the earth was called a *ts'ung* which was a squared cylinder with a round hole inside and also variously marked on the outside. These *ts'ung* symbols measured in diameter from an inch or more with the height sometimes about the same as the diameter or in other instances many times this dimension.

This use of jade as a ceremonial or ritual object was very extensive, for here the skill of the lapidary-artist would be encouraged to produce his most intricate and beautiful objects for the temple or family shrines in the shape of incense burners, wine cups covered and uncovered, bowls, and vases for many purposes (Fig. 5). In the shrines are found figures carved out of jade or decorated with jade ornaments. Beautifully carved Buddhas and countless figures of Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, have survived the ravages of wars and time,

The still more ancient bronzes of the earliest Chinese dynasties were copied in jade of different colors and textures (Fig. 6). These replicas are amongst the most beautiful and interesting of the old symbolic jades. Such was the veneration of the Chinese for their ancient jade objects that it stimulated in the succeeding dynasties, the copying of the old by the contemporary carver. This often leads to an added difficulty in appraising the dynasty of a jade carving.

Jade is sharply distinguished from other gem stones by its lack of transparency. This, however, in the writer's appreciation of the beauty of gems, sets jade into a class apart. The transparency of gems like diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and topazes, accentuates their other attributes such as luster, fire, hardness, and rarity which give them additional value. Because of its lack of transparency jade is not cut with facets as transparent stones are, to bring out many of their qualities of beauty, it has special attributes which are individualistic and highly prized. Jade, being translucent, is usually cabochon cut for gem use as is true of opals and agates.

The translucent white jade of gems and more specifically of Ch'ien Lung (乾隆) carvings, under good light, seems almost to glow with a "cold inner radiance." This translucency combined with reflectiveness imparts a soft waxy or oily appearance to the polished surfaces particularly of the older or nephrite variety. Indeed white jade is often called "pork fat" jade and when of a yellowish cast "mutton fat" (羊脂玉) jade. This "soft" translucency is an illusion since jade is harder than steel. A knife does not scratch it.

The Chinese have many other appealing designations for their large variety of jade in its changing color, its translucency, or its texture such as "melting snow of camphor" jade which reminds them of white flakes floating in a more translucent background. Another expression is *fei-ts'ui* (翡翠) or king-fisher green jade. A pleasing dark green jade with still darker flecks, is spoken of as spinach jade and the emerald green variety is dignified by the title of imperial jade, and as such is highly valued throughout the world. All these are but a few among the many examples of the interesting and imaginative expressions used to describe this gem stone of such superlative attractiveness and significance.

However, jade has very special and unique qualities of its own not possessed by any other gem mineral and these qualities extend, not only to those varieties of jade that are cut for rings and personal adornment, but to its manifold other and more important uses (Fig. 7). The outstanding characteristic that makes jade unique is its toughness which, combined with hardness, makes possible the intricate carving which only jade permits. This toughness, specially characteristic of nephrite, is caused principally by the internal structure of jade which also influences its beautiful translucency. It is due to micro intertwining of the fibrous structure of nephrite jade or to a less extent by the intermingling of granular or crystalline particles composing jadeite jade. This toughness together with hardness permits the intricate and delicate carving of the multitudinous objects that the skill and the imagination of the Chinese lapidary-artist

has produced and handed down to us over the many, many centuries (Figs. 8 & 9). The foregoing qualities, combined with an exceedingly wide range of color and texture and accompanied by a great variety of structural veins and irregularities, have enabled the Chinese to produce from this hard, durable stone the varied and beautiful objects symbolical of the artistic, legal, and religious ideas and aspirations of the Chinese nation. Instead of accepting any veins of different composition or appearance, as blemishes, these are made a part of the carving to accent some aspect of the design (Figs. 10 & 11), as is likewise true of any multi-colors in the jade. Indeed jade is characterized by an almost infinite variety of texture, color and markings—more so than for any other precious stone, or other mineral for that matter.

Jade is of many colors. Occidentals have placed most emphasis upon green jade but the sophisticated Occidental collector sometimes seems to prefer the evenly marked white translucent jade particularly that used in the Ch'ien Lung period for carving many of the objects (Figs. 12 & 13) with which this period has enriched the art and symbolism of the world. While the Chinese greatly value, especially for jewelry, the emerald or imperial green of that particular jadeite from Burma, yet many shades and varieties of green jade are treasured such as spinach green (Figs. 14, 15, & 16). But the color range of jade is almost that of the spectrum except for true blues, purples, and oranges. Red, yellow, black, brown, grey, greyish blue, mauve are added to the greens and whites. All these exist in many degrees of translucency and hue. Most of these colored jades, except for some pure whites, are variegated (Fig. 17) or flecked with other colors or veins.

The varied and carved jade objects are different from one another except for an occasional pair of bowls or vases or candlesticks but even here, when the lapidary-artist for example did design and produce a pair of screens, these rarely were identical, although they might be of the same general dimensions with harmonizing carvings. Like all true artists, the Chinese strove for and attained individuality in their creations and at the same time a multiplicity of products from the fingering piece of an individual to the jade throne of the emperor.

While in the execution of jade carvings there was a certain and natural organization and specialization, such as having one group do the roughing out of the block of stone, another to hollow out such objects as vases and bowls, with still others specializing in cutting of rings and chains, with the final polishing being accomplished by specialists in these finishing touches, the result was strikingly individual for each artistic creation. Only the Chinese people with their superlative patience, skill and industry could have produced these intricate carvings by the slow action of abrasives on drills, wheels, saws and polishing devices, powered not by modern motors but by man's hand or foot.

The most important element throughout the entire meticulous process was the vivid and diverse imagination of the master artist-lapidary who by studying the rough rock, recognized its capability of yielding, in the skilled and experienced hands of himself and his assistants, the simple or complex carving. Thus was transferred the mental fanciful conception to reality as exemplified in the wonderful jade collections in the



world. Such collections may be looked upon as one of the important and illuminating contributions of the Chinese people to the fundamental culture of the world, and as a means for other nations to gain an understanding of Chinese culture and civilization.

Like all fine things, jade has been imitated, usually through the carving of stones of lesser hardness such as *Suchow stone*. The Chinese knew what they were doing and fooled no one. Modern dealers are not so honest and "new" jade—which is not jade—is sold in certain areas. However, no other such stone even approaches jade in its durability, beauty, adaptability, and intricate carving.

The value of the crude jade is much enhanced by the carving of the Chinese lapidary-artist but this is neither unusual among other gems nor other artistic productions. The design and skill of the worker in jade transforms the raw stone, just as the lapidary converts the rough diamond or the artist uses pigments on canvas to produce objects of beauty.

In jade, value varies widely with color, evenness of structure, and overall properties. This adds to the versatility of jade objects and likewise to wider distribution according to the resources of the buyer. It is remarkable how many among the Chinese nation appreciate and treasure some object of jade. Many Chinese, entering the writer's home, sooner or later bring forth for admiration a treasured "fingering piece" of jade that may have been an old family dress ornament or a jade seal. The wide range in the price of jade, with its variable quality, age, or carving permits an extensive ownership of jade.

The touch of jade—its smoothness and polish—as well as the sound of jade when struck—its ring, all add up to the harmonious mingling of qualities that the Chinese and the appreciative Occidental perceive in jade.

It is difficult to ascribe with assurance the age or dynasty of a jade object but certain characteristics are guides. The type of the jade itself often is confined to a certain period or dynasty, the supply from this quarry becoming eventually exhausted. However, there was some recarving of old jade. But more characteristic has been the type of carving of a given period, for example that of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795).

Chinese, out of their innate appreciation of nature or life, vitalized and spiritualized by their transcendent imagination, produced the almost infinite variety of jade objects that enrich our culture of today. However, it must never be forgotten that the ancestors of the present laid the foundations in beauty, in variety, and in interest for the remarkable specimens now a part of this present aspect of this ancient culture of the Chinese people.

Some Occidental and Oriental customs and beliefs that may be hard for the other to comprehend, have exerted strong influences over their respective peoples. Such beliefs, faiths, or superstitions are characteristic of many races of man and are powerful stimuli to action through emotions. Examples in every race, are tribal or religious or

legal customs which through these mental beliefs result in action. Many Occidental religions and ceremonies particularly connected with faith in immortality are paralleled by the intimate living and dying by the Chinese in connection with jade and their faith in its influence.

In America and Europe, the museums of the principal cities and even private collections have been embellished by Chinese jade both archaic and Han and more recent dynasties. Only in the rarest instances has a carving of jade been executed by another than the Chinese lapidary-artist. These exhibits make available to many admirers of Chinese culture, jade objects symbolic of their past and intimately a part of their ancient activities as well as examples of their concepts of beauty. It is unusual to find on an object of jade even a dynasty mark, much less the name or chop of the chief artist-lapidary. This anonymity is a characteristic of the innate modesty of the Chinese and is aided by the practice of groups being involved in the production of even a simple object of jade. (Figs. 18 and 19)

In Taiwan, with the encouragement and support of the Minister of Education, Dr. Chang Chi-yun, many priceless and extraordinary jade objects, symbolic and decorative, archaic and recent, are now being exhibited in the National Museums in Taipei and recently in Taichung. These were carved by the Chinese lapidary-artists on the Mainland of China over the past three or four thousand years. They were mostly collected by the emperors of China during centuries of appreciative effort, and were housed in the Imperial Palace in Peiping. President Chiang Kai-shek had these priceless examples of Chinese jade, porcelains, bronzes, paintings, and books moved from Peiping and eventually to Taiwan. The same scholarly curators, especially Chuang Shan-yen, care for these treasures of their people in Taiwan as they did on the Mainland. A visit to these museums imparts to the Occidental some appreciation of the glory, artistic foundation, and symbolism of the Chinese people. Perhaps such a visitor may depart with some understanding of the veneration the Chinese feel for their jade.

"In ancient times" said Confucius "men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact and strong—like intelligence; angular, but not sharp and cutting—like righteousness; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground—like (the humility of) propriety; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly—like music; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws—like loyalty; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side—like good faith; bright as a brilliant rainbow—like heaven; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams, like the earth; standing out conspicuously in the symbols of rank—like virtue; esteemed by all under the sky—like the path of truth and duty."

It is through jade and by jade carvings that the Chinese lapidary-artists have influenced the unconscious memory of their people and contributed thus to the perpetuation of the ancient customs and rituals down the course of the centuries. Through jade the students of Chinese history have been led to a clearer understanding of this great people, of their reverence for their past and their aspirations for the coming eons.

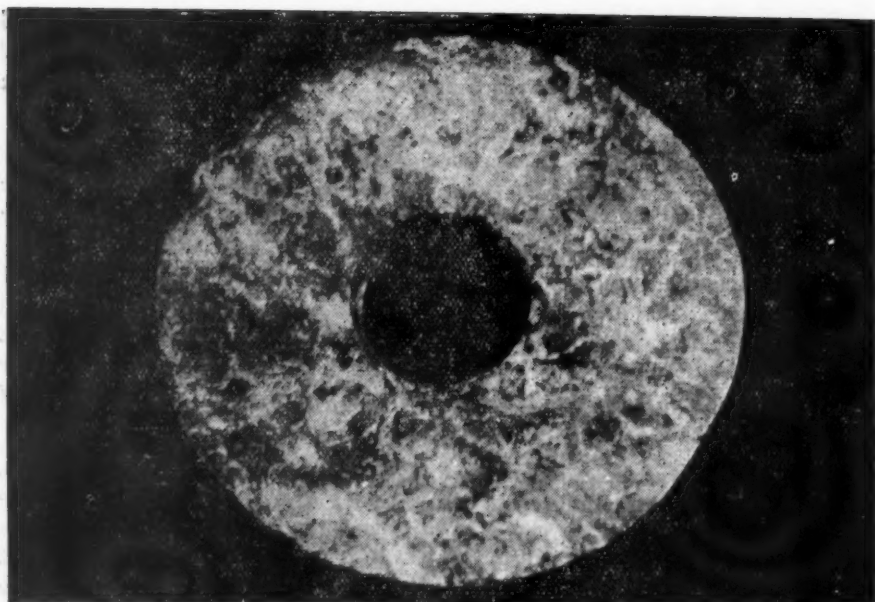


Fig. 1—Jade "pi" or ritual disc (Chou Dynasty). National Historical Museum, Taipei.

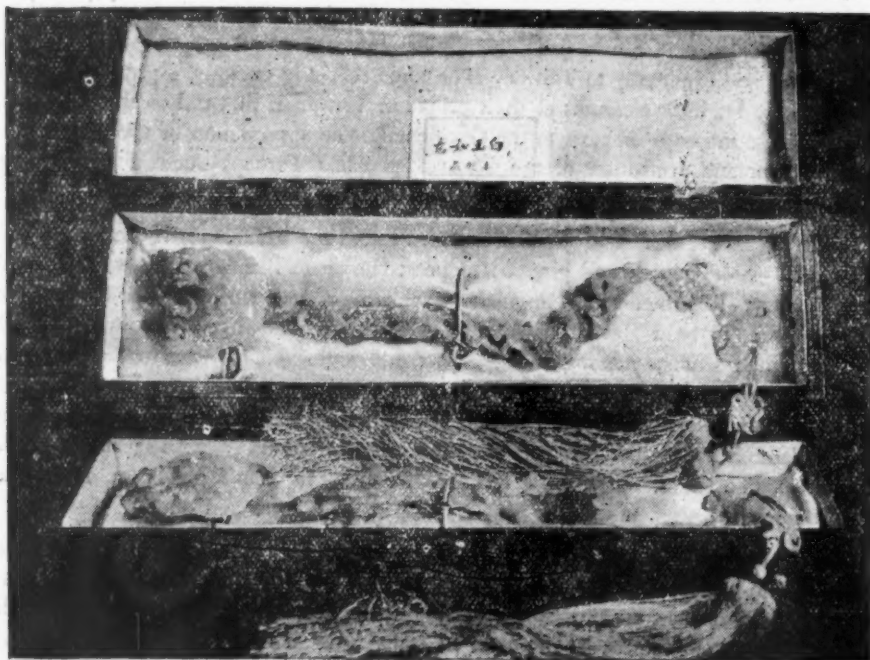


Fig 2—Green jade "ju-i" or scepter (Ch'ien Lung). National Historical Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 3—White jade "kuei," symbol of authority (Chou Dynasty). National Palace Museum, Taichung.

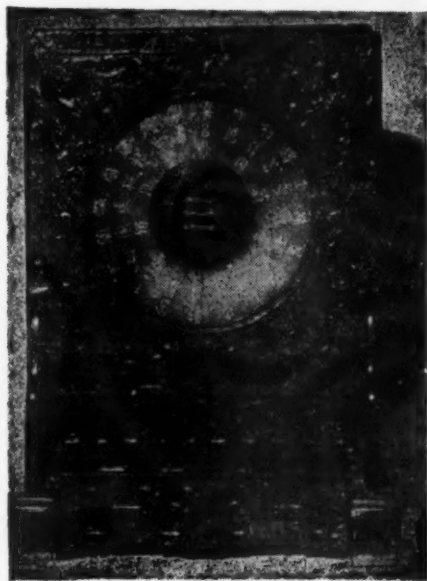


Fig. 4—Jade "pi" or ritual disc with Ch'ien Lung inscription. Framed in carved wood stand (Chou Dynasty). National Palace Museum, Taichung.



Fig. 5—Jade bowl and cover, encircled with carved rings. Jade bowl and cover with pierced floral design (Ch'ing Dynasty).

National Palace Museum, Taichung

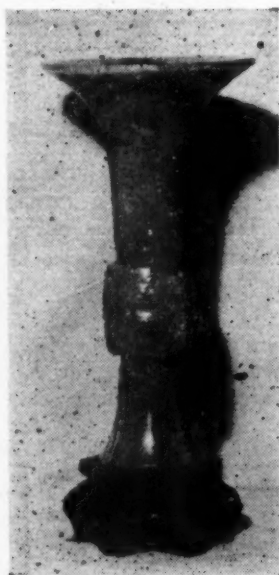


Fig. 6—Greyish jade wine goblet (Ming Dynasty).

National Palace Museum, Taichung.





Fig. 7—Whitish jade cane handle in form of turtledove (Ming Dynasty). Greyish jade cup in form of "ting" (Ch'ien Lung)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 8—Assorted jade ornaments in a carved wooden box  
National Palace Museum, Taichung

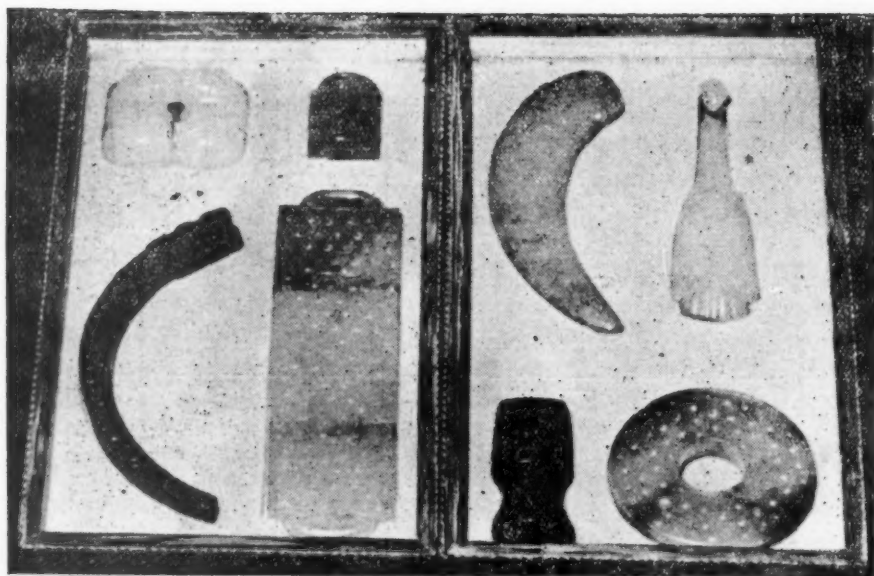


Fig. 9—Assorted jade symbols and ornaments. National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 10—  
Whitish jade vase in the form of a  
fish (Ch'ing Dynasty)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 11—  
Greyish twin jade cups (T'ang Dynasty)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 12—White jade carved in shape of a fruit. (Ch'ing Dynasty)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig 13—White jade bowl, showing interior, carved in flower design (Ch'ing Dynasty). National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 14—Green jade incense burner with floral carving (Ch'ing Dynasty)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung



Fig. 15—Green jade bowl showing inside carving of peach, Buddha-hand & pomegranate  
(Ch'ing Dynasty)  
National Palace Museum, Taichung

**Fig. 16—**  
**Green jade brush holder de-**  
**corated with pine trees and**  
**clouds (Ch'ing Dynasty)**  
**National Palace Museum,**  
**Taichung.**



**Fig. 17—Green and white jade, celery**  
**cabbage (Ch'ing Dynasty)**  
**National Palace Museum, Taichung**



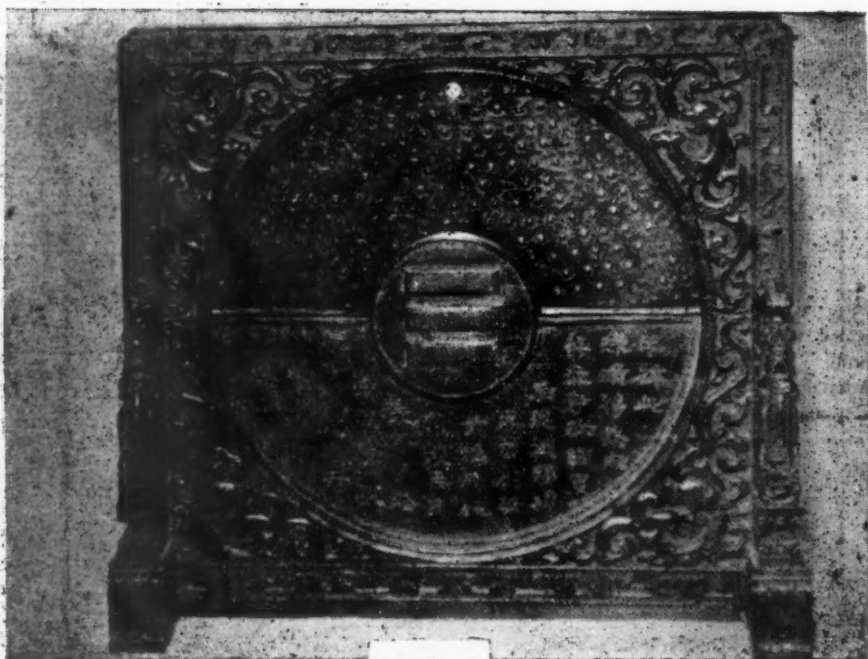


Fig. 18—"Huang" in wooden frame (Chou Dynasty) with Ch'ien Lung inscription  
National Palace Museum, Taichung

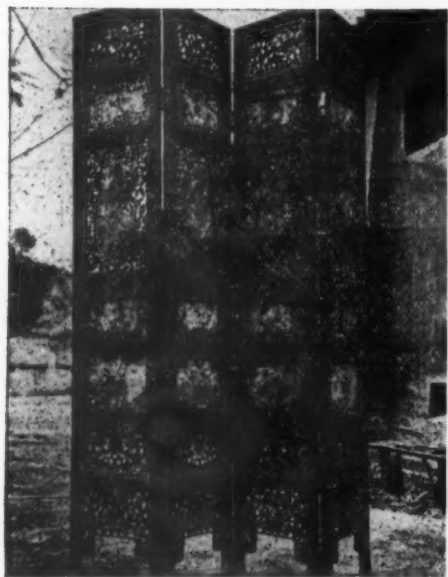


Fig. 19—  
Floral carved wooden screen with green  
jade plaques inserted (Ch'ing Dynasty).  
National Palace Museum, Taichung

# The Historical Development of the Land of China

By *Chang Chi-yun* 張其昀

## (1) ERA PRECEDING THE CHIN DYNASTY

The later the age, the more we know about what has gone on before. Thanks to the advancement of the science of archaeology since the founding of the Republic of China, it has been possible to trace the geography of China back to prehistoric times. It has been established that the early Chinese inhabited a tract of land now known as Chow Kou Tien, a town located some 50 kilometers southwest of Peiping. In the 18th year of the Chinese Republic (1929), geologists discovered in that region a number of crania and a large quantity of crude stone implements which bore unmistakable signs that fire had been used. It is obvious that there existed some sort of culture even in those early times. Men in that period are referred to by archaeologists as apemen of China or apemen of Peking. In those days, the layer of loess which now covers that region had not yet formed. It is easy to see the antiquity of the age which, in the opinion of archaeologists, dates back to 200,000 years. At that time, the climate of North China appeared to have been warmer and wetter.

Ancient Chinese culture may be divided into three ages: (1) The Eolithic Age to which the apemen of Peking belonged; (2) the Paleolithic Age and (3) the Neolithic Age. The latter two ages both belonged to the loess period. In 1923, a number of implements dating back to the Paleolithic Age were discovered at Ordos in Suiyuan Province. The pointed ones were evidently used for boring holes, while the apricot-shaped implements were probably used for purposes of defense or hunting. Still others were used for scraping and grinding. Such animals as the rhinoceros, the elephant, the camel, the wild buffalo and the ostrich, which were discovered together with the stone implements, have become extinct since the Pleistocene age. There is ample reason to believe, therefore, that during the formation of the layer of loess, human beings lived in the vicinity of the Great Wall south of the Ordos Bend on the Yellow River, and that their culture dated back to the Paleolithic Age.

Remains of the Neolithic Age in China were, for the most part, excavated at Yang Shao Village in Ming Chih Hsien in Honan Province. The era to which such remains are dated has therefore come to be known as the Yang Shao Era (Yang Shao Village is located eight kilometers north of the railway station in Ming Chih Hsien).

Similar discoveries were made in the provinces of Liaoning, Kansu and Chinghai (Kokonor). Comparing the remains left behind by the primitive men of the Paleolithic Age at the Ordos Bend on the Yellow River with those left behind by men of the Yang Shao Era, we can see not only the great dissimilarity between the articles and implements, but also the difference in the environments of the people of the two ages. The articles of the Paleolithic Age were simple and crude, while those of the Yang Shao Era were more varied and refined. The men of the Paleolithic Age used to hunt for mammoth animals now extinct in Ordos, while men of the Yang Shao Era lived in environments not greatly different from ours except that the land was then thickly forested. Although numerous stone implements and pottery dating back to the Yang Shao Era have been dug up, no metalware has ever been unearthed. This indicates that during the Yang Shao Era, the use of metal had not been discovered or that its use had not become widespread. In view of the great resemblance between the pottery ware of the Yang Shao Era and the brassware of the Shang and Chow dynasties, the Yang Shao Era may be placed at the end of the Neolithic Age or around 3000 B. C.

The culture of the Yang Shao Era was closely related to agriculture. The imprint of rope on the pottery indicates that hemp was being cultivated at that time. The large quantities of the bones of pigs discovered in the ruins of the villages indicate the prevalence of pig-rearing. All these point to the existence of an agricultural society. Furthermore, grain was found in some of the pottery ware of the Yang Shao Era. This is the earliest proof which the archaeologists have of the cultivation of rice in China. Men of the Yang Shao Era had begun to use wooden hoes and ploughs which were eminently suited to the tillage of loess. Some scholars believe that the Yang Shao Era probably overlapped with the time of Emperor Yao of Tang. The monochromatic and colored pottery then produced was surprisingly elegant and refined. Emperor Yao's dynasty was named "Tao Tang" which literally means a dynasty noted for its pottery. This may be taken as proof that pottery was very widely used at that time. Furthermore, it has been established that the Chinese people originally came from the Yellow River area, that the culture of the Yang Shao Era forms the basis of Chinese civilization, and that the pottery of the Yang Shao Era had a great influence on the bronzeware of the Shang and Chow dynasties.

The discovery of the ancient site of Yin Hsu (the ruins of the capital of the Shang Dynasty) threw considerable light on the ancient geography of China. A great deal of the remains indicative of the cultural achievement at the time have been found buried in the mounds of loess along the shores of the Hwan River in An Yang Hsien, Honan Province. Yin Hsu is one of the high mounds. The place was once referred to in *Hsiang Yu Pen Chi* (the Biography of Hsiang Yu) as "Yin Hsu south of the Hwan River." The period dated from the removal of Pan Keng (the 17th Emperor of the Shang Dynasty) to the fall of Emperor Shin (the 28th and last Emperor of the Shang Dynasty), that is, from about 1400 B.C. to 1122 B.C. The remains of Yin Hsu can be classified into two large categories, namely, those on the ground and those

found in underground cellars. It may thus be seen that the last stage of the Yin Dynasty was a period of transition when people started to move out of caves and into houses. Most of the relics that have been found consist of pottery and the bones of animals. The latter were mostly used for making weapons, implements and ornaments. The remains of elephants have also been discovered, indicating that the people of the Yin Dynasty had already succeeded in domesticating that animal. Oxen were used both for offering sacrifices and for fortune-telling. Telling fortunes by using tortoise shells originated from the practice of telling fortunes by using oracle bones. Hence it may be seen that towards the close of the Yin-Shang period, the people had not as yet abandoned the use of stone implements. Shells were used for two purposes; sea shells were used as currency while the shells of fresh-water crustaceans were used chiefly for ornaments.

In 1929, that is the 18th year of the Chinese Republic, arrow tips were unearthed by the Academia Sinica, indicating the overlapping of the last period of the Shang Dynasty with the Bronze Age. People of the Yin Dynasty made bronzeware by casting. The material they used was not pure copper, but an alloy of copper and tin, that is, bronze. A great majority of the bronzeware were arrowheads, spears, swords, awls, nails, etc. More significant than anything else discovered at Yin Hsu were the characters engraved on scales and bones. People of the Yin Dynasty used more ox-bones for fortune-telling than tortoise shells. On some 100,000 bones and shells excavated up to the present, a total of 2,000 different characters have been found. The system of picture-writing had been perfected between the 14th and the 12th centuries B. C. Among the agricultural products represented by the characters of the Yin-Shang period were rice as well as wheat. Among the bones of animals found were those of both the buffalo as well as the ox. There were not only characters denoting silk, mulberry trees, etc, but also those denoting silk worms. The making of silk, an exclusively Chinese invention, had become a special occupation during the Yin-Shang Dynasty. According to Li Chi, rice in the Yin-Shang period was probably produced in the South, while copper and tin probably also came from South China. Discoursing on the subject of communication between the Yellow River basin and other places prior to the Yin-Shang period, he pointed out that it was not accidental that the people of the Yin Dynasty, who were able to mine copper and tin in the South and to collect oyster shells from the Eastern Sea, wielded complete control over the area north and south of the Yellow River. They devoted themselves, he added, to punitive military expeditions, the pursuits of literature, the rules of propriety, music and other endeavors unrivalled by any other people in the whole of East Asia. The late Professor Wang Kuo-wei, who did some research on the names of places as recorded in the oracle bones and shells, was of the opinion that the present area lying between Lai Sui and Yi Hsien of Hopei Province formed the domain of the Yin-Shang dynasties in view of the similarity between the cultural achievements of the Yin-Shang dynasties and the Shang Dynasty. Judging by the founding of the Kingdom of Korea by Chi Tse and the annexation of Shu Shen as a vassal state by Emperor Chen in the early years of the Chow Dynasty, it may be seen that the influence of the Shang Dynasty had reached as far as North-east of China.

The difference in the culture of Yin Hsu and Yang Shao lies in the fact that the latter age had entered into the period of recorded history, so that fresh materials dug out from underground can often be used to check against the ancient records. The account given by Sze Ma Chien, a famous historiographer of the Han Dynasty, in his *Historical Record of the Genealogy of the Shang Dynasty*, seems to be quite correct in the main when it is checked against the characters on the shells. The reliability of his account is further borne out by the fact that the names of the tutors of the emperors and kings such as Yi Yun, Fu Hsuo, etc, were explicitly mentioned in the "Divination Phrases." The genealogy of the Hsia Dynasty as recorded by Sze Ma Chien also appears to be correct judging by the accuracy of the account of the genealogy of the Yin-Shang family. According to Professor Wang Kuo-wei, materials of historical value excavated from underground were of two kinds: (1) the characters on the shells and oracle bones and (2) the characters found on metalware, that is, ancient inscriptions on bronze objects. In the period covered by the "Spring and Autumn Annals", the characters on the metalware of the two great Kingdoms of Chi and Chin help to substantiate the fact that the reign of the ancient Emperor Yu preceded the reign of Emperor Tang. In the 15th year of the Republic of China (1926), Li Chi unearthed at Si Yin Village west of Hsia Hsien, Shansi Province, certain implements similar to those of the Yang Shao Era, especially the colored pottery. By tracing the successive changes in the name of Hsia Hsien, we have reason to believe that it was the site of the capital of the Hsia Dynasty. The prehistoric relics of Si Yin Village may therefore be safely presumed to belong to the Hsia Dynasty.

The capital of the Hsia Dynasty had been moved eight times in the period between Emperor Yu and Emperor Chieh. It has been verified that the capital of the people of Yin had been moved to eleven different places from the time of Chih (founder of the royal family of the Shang Dynasty) to the downfall of Shin (last Emperor of the Hsia Dynasty), while the capital of the Chow Dynasty from the time of Hou Tze to the time of Emperor Ping, who moved eastward to Lo Yi, had been moved to over ten different places. The domain of the Hsia Dynasty had as its center the lower course of the Fen River, Shansi Province, and the basin of the Lo River west of Honan. Since the sphere of activity of the people of the Hsia Dynasty had not extended beyond the two shores of the Yellow River, they were obviously the aborigines of the central region (comprising the bulk of Honan Province and a part each of the provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Shensi). The people of Yin, who probably came from the Northeast, wandered with their herds to as far as the Yi River to the north, Shang Chiu to the south, Chow and Lu (now in Shantung) to the east and the Tai Heng Range to the west. The people of Chow probably came from the Northwest. Their capital had always been located in the basin of the Wei River in Shensi Province, except for a period when it was moved to Loyang. At a time when the people of Yin had already begun to make implements out of bronze, the people of Chow were still living in the Stone Age. Several thousand pieces of bronze have been preserved, but we have never found any work that can be attributed to the people of Chow during the reign of Wang Chi and Wen Wang. If we look into the cultural achievements



and the manufactures of Yin Hsu from the classics and the historical records and again verify the history of the early years of the Chow Dynasty in the records, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that Chow as a race was culturally more backward than Hsia and Shang, the other two ancient dynasties.

The Yellow River basin comprises a large plain in the east, and mountains, river basins and high plateaus in the west. The people of Yin settled in the east; Hsia occupied the western part of what is now Shansi Province, while Chow had its base in Chi (a mountain range) and Wei (a river) in the west. Due to geographical reasons, the east as a geographical unit became separated from the west. Their different economic conditions and modes of living resulted in the three races fighting against one another. Their warlike contacts led to cultural and other exchanges and eventually to the formation of some sort of an empire. Culturally speaking, the east was more advanced. In addition to Yin Hsu, the area adjacent to Chu Fu of Shantung, namely, Kung Shuang (which literally means "empty mulberry") was a most important center in ancient times. Yi Yun, a native of Kung Shuang, offered his services to Emperor Tang who eventually destroyed Hsia. Confucius also was born in that region. Being interested in things of the past and anxious to acquire new knowledge, he succeeded in carrying on the tradition of the past as well as pointing the way for those who followed him. He thus made himself the most important figure in the history of Chinese culture.

Historians are in the habit of naming the ages according to the use made of the various minerals. The two ages following the Stone Age are the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in that order. The length of the period of transition from one age to another depends on the degree of cultural achievement. This applies to all countries other than China. Bronze began to be used in China between the age of the "Spring and Autumn Annals" and the age of the "Warring States," that is, approximately 500 B. C. Among others, the Kingdoms of Wu and Chu had acquired considerable skill in the art of smelting and the refining of iron. They had begun to make weapons out of iron, although, towards the close of the age of the "Warring States," most of the weapons used were still made of bronze. Generally speaking, during the ages of the "Spring and Autumn Annals" and the "Warring States," iron was being used both in North and South China. The North possessed iron weapons of greater quantity, while the South had weapons of better quality. The South was able to make iron weapons when the North was using iron only for the making of agricultural implements. It may be seen therefore that the South was superior to the North in technique. The "Smelting City" at Nanking in Kiangsu and the Sword Pool in Mo Kan Mountain in Chekiang are both historic landmarks of the age of the "Warring States." An old saying had it that Chin would be destroyed by Chu. This prediction proved to be correct when Hsiang Yu captured Hsien Yang, the capital of Chin, with 8,000 troops recruited from areas of the Yangtze Delta. His victory was, in a large measure, due to geographical backgrounds. The Chin and Han dynasties had an official in charge of iron. It is evident therefore that iron was being widely used. Iron was used for the manufacture of weapons on a much wider scale in the East Han

Dynasty, while in the Tang and Sung dynasties, agricultural implements, weapons and other articles of daily use were almost entirely made of iron.

## (2) THE CHIN, HAN AND THE SIX DYNASTIES

The unification of China was brought about for the first time in the Chin Dynasty. Although the reign of Chin was comparatively short, its perfection of the irrigation system constituted a significant event in the history of China. Ancient Chinese culture originated in the North where agriculture thrived. However, due to the insufficiency of rainfall in North China, it was necessary to resort to irrigation on a large scale in order to ensure abundant harvests. Although agriculture had been carried on in China as long ago as the Neolithic Age, it was much later before the cultivation of rice became the staple of livelihood. More importance, for instance, was attached to hunting in the Shang Dynasty and the beginning of the Chow Dynasty. It was not until the time of the Warring States that agriculture, aided by irrigation, came to the fore. The construction of dikes, the building of irrigation canals and the digging and dredging of canals went on hand in hand. Judging from the relation between history and geography, the knowledge of irrigation seems to have been spread from the east to the west, that is, from the plains of North China to the plains of the Wei River in Kuan Chung (the central part of Shensi Province), thence southward to Szechwan and westward to Ninghsia. It was comparatively simple to harness the rivers running down from the Tai Heng Range for irrigating the plains of North China. The most prominent among the rivers in this region is the Chang River in the Kingdom of Wei (now An Yang Hsien in Honan Province). The people of the Kingdom of Han during the age of the Warring States were long experienced in the work of irrigation. Cheng Kuo, for instance, was famous as an expert in water conservancy. Subsequently, the technique of irrigation was brought to Kuan Chung which benefited greatly thereby.

The plains along the Wei River were not only in great need of artificial irrigation, but were also eminently suited for it. Cheng Kuo was only one of the many irrigation experts. As the influence of the Chin Dynasty came to be more widely felt, the knowledge of irrigation was spread from the Wei River plains to such areas as Chengtu in Szechwan Province. The works of water conservancy along the Min River were not erected by the natives of Shu (Szechwan Province), but were originally constructed by Li Ping, a native of Chin. The irrigation ditches in Ninghsia Province are still known as "the ditches of Chin." These ditches and aqueducts can still be seen today. By the time of the Han Dynasty, the knowledge of water conservancy became even more widespread, so that agriculture gradually became the backbone of the country. There were some 10,000 dikes which greatly benefited the whole country. Thanks largely to the benefits derived from irrigation, the Han Dynasty was able to build up its strength and make its influence felt far and wide. As the Han Dynasty extended its influence to Central Asia, the knowledge of water conservancy spread westward. Even Sinkiang Province and the regions west of the Yellow River in Kansu Province derived considerable benefit from irrigation.

Water conservancy is not only beneficial to agriculture, but has also a very important bearing on communication. In the Chin Dynasty, Sze Lu linked the upper reaches of the two rivers Hsiang and Kwei by dredging the Tu River near Hsing An in Kwangsi Province. General Ma Yuan of the Han Dynasty continued to dredge the same river and to build canals for the storage of water, thus making it possible to navigate from the South to the North. This is why the two rivers, Hsiang and Li (upper course of Kwei), are said to come from the same source. The work of these pioneers in water conservancy has contributed greatly to the field of communication and transportation. Changes in geographical environment are often brought about by human endeavor as well as by the forces of nature. Works of water conservancy are an obvious example.

The division of the country into local administrative units began in the Chin Dynasty with the abolition of the feudal system and the setting up of *chun* (prefectures) and *hsien* (districts). Although the administrative units above the grade of prefectures have undergone certain changes in the succeeding dynasties and the system of appointing governors has also changed from time to time, the system of having the *hsien* as a unit of local administration has survived from the Chin Dynasty to the present time. In the 26th year of the reign of the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty (211 B.C.), the former domains of the Six States were divided into 36 prefectures. This was later increased to 42 with the establishment of six additional prefectures. Some historians have noted that, from the strategic point of view, it was with great foresight that the prefectures had been set up. The prefectures could not have been distributed as they were by somebody who did not have a thorough knowledge of geography. In the Chin Dynasty, *hsien* were divided into two classes according to the size of the population. A first-class district was one with a population exceeding 10,000 families and governed by a *hsien-lin*. A second-class *hsien* was one with less than 10,000 families and governed by a magistrate or *hsien-chang*. Han adopted the system of Chin. The only difference was that in the Han Dynasty, the feudal system existed hand in hand with the prefecture and *hsien* system and the capital cities of the feudal lords were located among the prefectures and *hsien*. Special districts called *tao* were set up in areas inhabited by the frontier peoples. They were governed by what are known today as "administrative bureaus." There were 32 *tao* in the Han Dynasty. The *tao* were situated on the borders of Shensi, Kansu, Szechwan and Hupeh which were at that time inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes. In the East Han Dynasty, some of the *tao* came to be known as *hsien*.

During the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, the larger principalities under the feudal lords had all been abolished. As a result of the appropriation of additional territory consequent upon the expansion of national strength, the whole country was divided into 13 *chow* which ruled over the prefectures. It is to be noted that the word *chow* was taken from *Yu Kung*, the first book on Chinese geography. The book gives a detailed description of the nine *chow* and dwells in detail on the rivers, mountains, soil, products, communication and races, etc. Although the name of

the writer is unknown, there is little doubt that the book was written comparatively late. Conceived by scholars during the time of the "Warring States," the system of dividing the country into nine *chow* and making use of lofty mountains and wide rivers as boundary lines, has been widely adopted by statesmen in later ages. Among the 13 *chow* of the West Han Dynasty, the most northerly was named So Fang, while the most southerly was named Chiao Chi, both being newly acquired territories of which no mention had previously been made in the records. It may be noted that the 13 *chow*, which were under the control of royal inspectors, were originally only supervisory units. It was not until the closing years of the East Han Dynasty that they became administrative units.

During the age of the Warring States, Yen, Chao, Wei, Chin and some others separately built a wall along their northern frontiers with a view to protecting their territories from the invasion of the Huns. After having subjugated the other six states, Chin linked the seven unconnected walls into one and made the necessary repairs. Thus, the Great Wall became a symbol of the unity of China. The idea that the Great Wall was built solely by the Empire of Chin is not consistent with historical fact. The Great Wall of today was the work of the Ming Dynasty. When he ventured beyond the northern frontier, Chang Hsiang-wen saw in the vicinity of Yin Shan the ruins of ramparts and forts running in the east-west direction. He also saw at strategic points in the valleys and gorges many traces of ancient garrisons and strong points left behind by Chin. The Great Wall of Chin runs eastward from Lin Tiao to Liao-tung. The writer once had occasion to visit the Northwest where he saw the Great Wall built by Chin at Lin Tiao in Kansu Province. Although the earth and the rock had become decomposed by erosion, traces of the wall were still discernible. The Great Wall of Chin is located some 200 kilometers north from that of the Ming Dynasty. We may therefore call the former the Outer Great Wall and the latter the Inner Great Wall. The plains along the Ordos Bend of the Yellow River and the Black River of Suiyuan Province are bounded by the Outer and Inner Great Walls.

Furthermore, in the area west of the Yellow River in the northwestern part of Kansu Province, we can see that the Great Wall runs along two lines. The first line, running from north of the Chang Yi Hsien (Kanchow) and Chiu Chuan Hsien (Su Chow) to Tun Huang, was built during the Han Dynasty for the purpose of defending the mountain pass on the northern side of the Chi Lien Range leading to the "Western Region" (countries to the west of China). The second line, which forms right angles with the first and is known as the Wall of Chia Yu Kuan, was built in the Ming Dynasty. Since the first line was built with the purpose of expanding beyond the frontier and the second merely for purposes of self-defense and for keeping out outside influence, they served entirely different purposes. Today we can still find a twisting line of earthen mounds which are the ruins of the Great Wall of the Han Dynasty running from the west of Tun Huang to the old site of Yu Men Kuan. The distance between any two mounds is from three to five *li*. It was on these mounds that bonfires were lit in ancient times. Such mounds for the lighting of bonfires can

also be seen along the Erjina River from Chiu Chuan to the Chu Yen Sea for a distance of 320 kilometers. The Northwest Scientific Research Mission discovered in this area a quantity of wooden slips dating back to the first year of the reign of Emperor Hsuan of the Han Dynasty (69 B. C.).

The Han Dynasty extended its influence to the Northeast as well as the Southwest. During the reign of Emperor Wu, Korea was conquered and four prefectures were founded. Subsequently, the culture of Han was introduced to Japan through the Korean Peninsula. During the reign of Emperor Ming of the East Han Dynasty, the aboriginal tribes of Ai Lao switched their allegiance to China and the Yung Chang Prefecture was set up in the annexed territory. Thus, the western part of Yunnan was brought into contact with China Proper. The greatest contribution made by the Han Dynasty, however, was the opening up of the Northwest. With the expulsion of the Huns to the North and the establishment of the four prefectures west of the Yellow River (i.e., Wu Wei, Chang Yi, Chiu Chuan, Tun Huang) during the reign of Emperor Wu, the way to the "Western Region" was opened. The control of the Hans over the countries in the "Western Region" began with the reign of Emperor Hsuan. An office of the viceroy of the "Western Region" was set up at Wu Lui City (Ku Che Hsien in Sinkiang Province) to supervise the countries north and south of the Tien Shan Mountain Range. During the East Han Dynasty, General Pan Chao was appointed viceroy of the "Western Region." Instructed by Pan Chao to make a trip to Ta Chin (Rome), Kan Ying went as far as the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, something which had not been done previously.

Although the modes of travel to the "Western Region" might differ from time to time and the routes might be changed, the occupation of Lou Lan (later renamed Shan Shan) was necessary at all times. The Kingdom of Lou Lan was situated under Lop Nor at the eastern border of the "Western Region" and was close to the border of the territory of Han. It formed a narrow corridor of great strategic importance. Through this corridor the Han Dynasty maintained its communication with all the other countries in the "Western Region." Mr. Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, discovered at the site of Lou Lan a large number of ancient articles. The most valuable was a sheet of paper produced in the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Lin of the East Han Dynasty (180 A. D.). On this sheet of paper were found Chinese characters written in ink. Paper was invented in China in about 105 A. D. Paper was therefore being produced only 75 years after it had been invented. This is the oldest piece of paper extant. The characters are also the oldest Chinese characters written in ink. In addition to this sheet of paper, a quantity of pottery and bronzeware was also discovered. Some of the designs on such pottery and bronzeware are similar to those of such articles used by the Romans, indicating that there was considerable contact in those days between the Mediterranean Sea and the Orient. The old caravan route to the Mediterranean traversed Kansu, the western part of the Yellow River and Sinkiang. It was along this route that Chinese culture was brought to the West and the culture of Persia and India was introduced to China. The cultural influence of



Buddhism and Buddhist art on China is generally acknowledged. The importation of such plants from the "Western Region" as lucerne, grapes and sesame, etc. has contributed greatly to the development of agriculture in China.

The Period of the "Three Kingdoms" and the "Six Dynasties" which succeeded the two Han dynasties was a period of disunity in China. Nevertheless, it was marked with considerable progress. For example, Wu (one of the Three Kingdoms) conquered Shan Yueh and brought civilization to the mountain tribes along the upper reaches of the Chien Tang River. Shu (another of the Three Kingdoms) sent a punitive expedition against the "Southern Barbarians" and penetrated far into Yunnan. Even now, the aborigines of such places as Kiang Hsin Po still offer sacrifices to Chu Keh Liang as a benevolent conqueror and the prime minister of Shu. The removal of the capital of the Tsin Dynasty to the South helped to bring civilization southward. When Nanking was made the capital of the East Tsin Dynasty, South China became the heartland of the Han race for more than 270 years. It was then that many immigrants from the "Central Plain" took permanent residence in the South. The further direction of immigration was from Chekiang to Fukien. Foochow was then called Tsin An, and Chuan Chow was called Tsin Kiang in memory of the mass immigration in the Tsin Dynasty. As for the North, the area along the Ordos Bend of the Yellow River and the Black River was formerly the Yun Chung Prefecture where the Han race settled down as farmers. In the fourth century, it became a base for the To Pa Wei Dynasty. The removal of the Later Wei Dynasty from Tatung to Loyang marked the beginning of the North Dynasty in opposition to the South Dynasty. The Chow, Chi, Sui and Tang dynasties all rose to power. The period between the Three Kingdoms and the Six Dynasties appeared to be a period of decay. Actually, some progress was made by both the North and the South, making possible the unification of China in the Sui and Tang dynasties.

### (3) THE SUI, TANG AND SUNG DYNASTIES

The relationship between Sui and Tang is similar to that between Chin and Han. Although the reign of Sui was rather short, it contributed greatly to the standardization of the system of water conservancy. The Sui Dynasty made Loyang its capital which became a focal point in the Great Canal. The Great Canal was divided into several sections. The section north of the Yellow River is called Yung Chi Chu, which flowed directly to the vicinity of Tientsin through the Wei River. The section south of the Yellow River is called Tung Chi Chu, which flowed into the Huai River through the Pien River. There used to be a shorter canal called Han Kou between the Huai River and the Yangtze River. It was first constructed in the period of "Spring and Autumn." It had to be dredged in the Sui Dynasty when it became choked up with silt. A new canal, which was built south of the Yangtze River, flowed directly to Hangchow. Consequently, it was possible to navigate to the Chien Tang River in the South, the Po Hai in the North and Loyang in the West. It was largely due to the ease of communication that the Sui and Tang dynas-

ties were able to unite the whole of China. In the seventh year of the reign of Emperor Yang (611 A. D.) of the Sui Dynasty, a punitive expedition was sent to Korea. Troops were also conscripted from all over the country. Despite the distance of their journey, they were ordered to assemble in Tientsin. It shows therefore that communication between the North and the South was then highly developed.

The Han Dynasty had its capital at Chang An (now Sian in Shensi Province). The old canal ran eastward parallel to the Wei River, ending at Tung Kuan. It was repaired in the Sui Dynasty and renamed Kuang Tung Chu. The capital of the Tang Dynasty was in Kuan Chung (now the central part of Shensi Province). As the Kuang Tung Chu depended chiefly on the Southeast for its revenues and traffic, it formed, together with some other canals, the main waterway for transportation. The Sung Dynasty, with Kaifeng as its capital, also attached much importance to the old canal. It was said by the people of the Sung Dynasty that the Pien River was the national lifeline. It was through the Pien River that the grain from the Huai River basin was transported to the capital. This situation remained until the Yuan Dynasty. When Peiping was chosen the capital of the Yuan Dynasty, the course of the canal was altered and the old waterway gradually went out of use. It is agreed among those familiar with the history of flood prevention that the first year of Taiting of the Yuan Dynasty (1324 A. D.) constituted an important turning point in the field of water conservancy. Previously, the Yellow River and the Pien River were placed under separate control. From then on, the latter was completely captured by the former. Some years later, it was the original intention of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty to set up his capital at Kaifeng. However, he had to give up the idea in view of the state of disrepair of the Pien River.

The Chinese Empire at the time of the Tang Dynasty attained a prosperity unprecedented in the history of China. The alien races beyond the northern and eastern frontiers as well as the countries in the "Western Region" all paid tribute to the Tang Dynasty. The Emperor was known as Tien Khan, or "the sovereign of sovereigns." Tang set up the following six viceroyalties to exercise control over the border regions: (1) the Antung Viceroyalty at Pyongyang in Korea, (2) the Annan Viceroyalty at Chiao Chow, now Hanoi in Indo-China, (3) the Ansi Viceroyalty at Kuitze, now Ku Che Hsien in Sinkiang Province and (4) the Anpei Viceroyalty at Kin Shan, now in Kobdo, (5) the Shanyu Viceroyalty at Yun Chung, now Tatung in Shansi Province and (6) the Peiting Viceroyalty at Ting Chow, now Tihua in Sinkiang Province. Countries in the South Sea Archipelago such as Tupo (now Java) and Si Li Fu Shi (now Sumatra) all paid tribute to the Emperor. Consequently, commerce between China and foreign countries became exceedingly prosperous. By the time of the Sung Dynasty, Canton, Chuanchow, Hangchow and Mingchow (now Ningpo) had become major commercial seaports of China.

It is unfortunate that none of the works of Chia Tan, the greatest authority on geography in the Tang Dynasty, has been preserved. What he said concerning the

barbarous tribes beyond the frontier can only be found in the *Hsin Tang Shu Ti Li Chih*, a geographical record of the Tang Dynasty. Chia Tan was ordered by the Emperor to draw a map of the domain of China as well as of the territories beyond. Upon the completion of his assignment, he presented it to the Imperial Court. In appreciation of his services, Emperor Tai Chung issued an imperial mandate of appreciation and made him the Duke of Wei. The original map has long been lost. We can only get a rough outline of it from a map of China and the contiguous territories printed in the Sung Dynasty. This printed map is now preserved at Peilin (which means "a forest of stone tablets") at Chang An, Shensi. On the margin of the map may be found the names of the barbarian states. It is also stated on the margin that "according to the records kept by the Duke of Wei of the Tang Dynasty, there were several hundred states. Only the names of those states well known to us are given here." It may be noted that the map of Chia Tan was 30 Chinese feet in width and 33 in length, the scale being one inch to one hundred *li*. Therefore, Chia Tan's map represents a distance of 30,000 *li* from west to east and of 33,000 *li* from the south to the north. Thus, we can see that the sphere of influence of the Tang Dynasty virtually extended over the whole of Asia. The map printed in the Sung Dynasty has as its limit Korea in the east, Pamir in the west, Indochina in the south and somewhere in Chitan in the north, covering a territory only half of that covered by the map of Chia Tan. A list of the countries in the "Western Region" and the South Seas was given on the margin of the map, but there were a number of omissions.

The *chun* (prefecture) as a geographical unit was abolished and replaced by the *chow* in the Sui Dynasty. During the Tang Dynasty, there were 293 *chow* and above them, *tao*. Therefore, the *tao* of the Tang Dynasty was equivalent to the *chow* of the Han Dynasty and the *chow* of the Tang Dynasty was equivalent to the *chun* of the Han Dynasty. In the first year of the reign of Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty (627 A. D.), the whole country was divided into ten *tao* according to its geographical features. The number was increased by five in the 21st year of the reign of Emperor Hsuan Tsung of the same dynasty (733 A. D.). The *tao* was not an administrative, but a supervisory unit, similar to the *chow* of the Han Dynasty. In addition, six viceroyalties were set up to govern the vassal states. On top of that, a number of *chieh-tu-shih* (similar to governor, i.e., commander of the military forces and concurrently administrative head of the area under his military jurisdiction) were appointed in the border regions. The putting of so much power in the *chieh-tu-shih* eventually resulted in their revolting against the Emperor. The areas under the jurisdiction of the *chieh-tu-shih* were also called *tao*, the big ones comprising more than ten *chow* each and the smaller ones, two or three. The *chieh-tu-shih*, who were at first installed only at the border regions, were later appointed all over the land so that the whole country was divided into more than 40 *tao*. This process was similar to that by which the *chow* gradually became administrative units in the Han Dynasty. After Huang Chao's rebellion, the *chieh-tu-shih* gave themselves the titles of emperors or kings according to the size of their respective territories. It was then that China entered into the period of the "Five Little Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms." At the

beginning of the Sung Dynasty, the whole country was divided into 15 *lu* (similar to *tao*). In the 18th year of the reign of Emperor Shen Tsung (1085 A. D.), the number of *lu* was increased to 23 of which only 15 were held by the South Sung Dynasty with the rest held by the Chins (forebears of the Manchus). Of these 15 *lu*, the West Chekiang *lu* assumed the leading position, because the capital was established at Lin An (Hangchow) in Chekiang.

China was comparatively weak during the Sung Dynasty. Since the concession of the "Sixteen Counties" to Chitan (Liao's predecessor) by Emperor Shih Ching Tang of the "Five Dynasties," China and Liao (another power to the north of China) became neighbors, separated by the Pai Kou River (now Chu Ma River). In the Northwest, there rose another power, Si Hsia, which, succeeding Tu Fan (Tibet) of the Tang Dynasty, held the most part of what is now Kansu Province. In the Southwest, Nan Chao, with its capital at what is now Tali of Yunnan Province, became more and more powerful. Since the middle of the Tang Dynasty, Nan Chiao had been launching periodic invasions into Szechwan Province, thus weakening China. To forestall further invasions, the Sung Dynasty gave up Yunnan by making the Ta-Tu River the boundary line between China and Nan Chao. The biggest of the worries of the Sung Dynasty was the Northeast. Liao, waxing powerful during the last years of the Tang Dynasty, established its capital at Lin Huang (now Ling Tung Hsien of Jehol Province) and called it the "Central Capital." There were also the East, West, North and South Capitals. Centering on these five capitals, the territory of Liao was divided into five *tao*, comprising the area of what is now the Northeastern Provinces and Inner and Outer Mongolia. Peiping, which served as the capital of China during the past several hundred years, in fact owes its origin to being the South Capital of Liao. Chitan was succeeded by the Nu Chen tribe or the Chins. During the reign of Huei Tsung of the Sung Dynasty, Chin occupied all the five capitals and later the northwestern part of the territory of the Sung Dynasty. The seat of government was removed from Yenching (Peiping) to Pien Ching (now Kaifeng, capital of Honan Province), and its territory was divided into 19 *lu*. The boundary between Chin and Sung was marked by the Huai River and Chinling (a mountain range in Shensi province), so that China was divided much as it was divided in the time of the North and South dynasties.

The time of the North Sung Dynasty to the South Sung Dynasty was a crucial period in the exchange of culture between the North and the South. According to Dr. Ting Wen-kiang, who studies the effect which geographical factors had on outstanding personalities, about ten per cent of the prominent figures in the North Sung Dynasty hailed from both Shantung and Shansi Provinces. During the South Sung Dynasty, however, the figure dropped to two or three per cent. The percentage for the natives of Fukien and Kiangsi was about 13 or 14 per cent during the South Sung Dynasty as compared with about five each during the North Sung Dynasty. From that, we can see the rise and fall of the cultural prestige of the different provinces. Again, among the men of influence, people of Hopei accounted for 17 per cent in the Tang

Dynasty and 14 per cent in the North Sung Dynasty. The figure dropped to 1 per cent in the South Sung Dynasty. This southward trend has continued to the present day. This seems to substantiate the theory held by many historians and geographers that North China was getting drier and drier. Recent research, however, has proved that such a theory has no basis in fact. According to Dr. Ting Wen-kiang, who made a study of the climate of Shensi in ancient and modern times, dry periods have alternated with wet periods in Shensi since olden times. He pointed out that each of these periods lasted about 400 years, but that there was no indication that the region was getting drier. His conclusion is further supported by the result of study of the periods of floods and droughts in China, the examination of the rings in the trunks of trees in Peiping and the findings of the Northwestern Scientific Exploration Mission in Sinkiang.

The recent decline of North China is chiefly due to the negligence of the work of water conservancy. Generally speaking, the irrigation of farmlands in North China was adequately maintained prior to the North Sung Dynasty. National wealth was therefore more or less evenly distributed between the North and the South. After the South Sung Dynasty, the work of water conservancy in North China was neglected. Instead, attention was being drawn to South China. The result was that the North became poor while the South entered into a period of prosperity. In Shensi Province, there were already a number of droughts during the third century. The construction of the Cheng and Pai Canals during the Chin and Han Dynasties showed that the importance of irrigation in the area north of the Wei River was recognized even in those days. As a result of the turbulent times towards the close of the Tang Dynasty, everything in Chang An (capital of Tang Dynasty) was neglected. When North China was overrun by invaders, the ancient irrigation canals had fallen into disrepair and had become unserviceable. To add another reason, irrigation canals were being built to supply water to the fields in the Great Bend of the Yellow River in the Chin and Tang dynasties. The water in the upper course of the Yellow River having been diverted, the volume of water in its lower course was naturally reduced. From the Sung Dynasty, the fields, irrigated by water from the upper course of the Yellow River, were neglected by the nomads and the canals became silted up. The water of the Yellow River, no longer able to flow into the canals, flooded the plains along its main course. Even today, floods occur periodically in North China.

The adage "Soochow and Hangchow are paradise on earth" did not come into circulation until the South Sung Dynasty. According to the *History of the Sung Dynasty*, "tremendous wealth has been derived from the paddy fields since the beginning of the South Sung Dynasty." The paddy fields along the coast south of the Yangtze River were all connected by canals and surrounded by moat-like waterways. Dykes were built to keep out the sea. The work of irrigation that had been undertaken constitutes one of the geographical factors which made the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang the center of modern Chinese culture.

The development of South China in the Tang Dynasty was limited to that



part along the course of the Yangtze River. The Pearl River basin was then largely inhabited by the Han race, mixed with barbarous tribes and exiled officials. For instance, the two famous scholars, Han Yu and Liu Tsung Yuan were banished to Chaochow (Kwangtung Province) and Luchow (Kwangsi Province) respectively. In fact, the Han Kiang was named after Han Yu and the Liukiang was named after Liu Tsung Yuan. The removal of the Sung Dynasty to South China marked the second biggest migration of the Chinese race. It was then that the South reached its zenith of prosperity. The center of Chinese culture was shifted from between Kaifeng and Loyang to the coastal area in the Southeast. Chu Hsi, a famous philosopher of the South Sung Dynasty, said, "The location of the world must have been changed, or else how could Chekiang and Fukien have become the center of the civilized world?" These two provinces truly became the center of Chinese culture. Their influence extended to Kwangtung Province. Between the Sung Dynasty and the Yuan Dynasty, large numbers of the Han race migrated to and settled down in Kwangtung. Thus an impetus was given to the cultural development of that province. After the South Sung Dynasty, the "Cantonese School" of academic learning appeared on the scene. It was not, however, before the Yuan Dynasty that Yunnan and Kweichow were developed to any extent.

#### (4) THE YUAN, MING AND CHING DYNASTIES AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Mongols achieved great and sudden eminence north of the desert when they conquered all their neighbors, drove to the South and brought an end to both the Chin and the Sung Dynasties. They rode rough-shod over Western Asia and Eastern Europe, thus establishing an empire bigger than any that had previously existed. The four Mongol Emperors had their seat of government at Ho Lin at the foot of the eastern side of Mount Hang Ai in Outer Mongolia. When Jenghis Khan, the first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, occupied China, he moved his government to Peiping, otherwise known as the "Great Capital." In addition to Peiping, an "Upper Capital" was set up at what is now Tolun in Charhar Province. He spent part of his time in the "Great Capital" and part in the "Upper Capital." When the power of the Yuan Dynasty was at its peak, its territory stretched from the Pacific Ocean in the East to the Mediterranean Sea, the Danube and the Baltic in the West, and from India in the South to the Arctic in the North. Apart from the territory which belonged exclusively to the Chinese Empire, three big kingdoms were established in the Northwest in what are now Iran, Soviet Russia and Sinkiang Province. These three vassal states were all nominally under the suzerainty of the Yuan Dynasty.

For more than a hundred years, the Mongol Empire enjoyed the free exchange of merchandise, art and knowledge between China and Europe. Its prosperity was scarcely equalled during the Middle Ages. In view of the vastness of the territory, a system of courier stations was established to facilitate travel. There were two main routes, that is, the South Route and the North Route. The former started from the south side of Tianshan Mountain *via* Central Asia, Iran and Arabia to

Europe, while the latter started from the north side of Tienshan Mountain *via* the south of Siberia to Russia. The Great Canal System in China Proper was also completed during the Yuan Dynasty. Peiping being the nerve center of the Yuan Dynasty, a tremendous quantity of rice from the South had to be brought to the North. Hence, the transportation of rice from the South to the North was a matter of great concern to the government. During the 26th year of the reign of Jenghis Khan (1289 A. D.), the Huei Tung Canal was constructed to connect Tientsin with Tung Hsien. Thus, the rice harvested in the Yangtze River and Huai River areas could be freighted directly to Peiping through the Great Canal System. The System was continuously dredged during the Ming Dynasty. The construction of the canals not only facilitated the transportation of rice and other commodities, but also served to strengthen the political position of the Empire.

The early period of the Ming Dynasty saw the rapid development of sea traffic, although its development of the hinterland lagged behind that during the Yuan Dynasty. Cheng Ho, the famous navigator, made seven voyages to the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean from the third year of the reign of Emperor Chen Tsu (1406) to the 7th year of the reign of Hsuan Tsung (1433). He was therefore considered a great Chinese seafarer during the early part of the 15th century. As our ancestors did not have as much geographical knowledge as we now have, they called the whole territory west of the Yu Men Kuan the "Western Land," and the whole territory west of the South Seas the "Western Ocean." It was not until the Jesuits came to China that the "Western Ocean" came to be called Europe. The "Western Ocean" to which Cheng Ho sailed included the Indian Ocean. He made his voyage at the head of a big fleet several decades before Columbus and Vasco da Gama made their voyages of discovery. We know for a fact that he visited some 20 countries, but it is probable that he and his ships had actually visited all the countries fringed by the Indian Ocean. Before that time, the Chinese did not know much of Southeast Asia beyond the Arabian Peninsula. Cheng Ho was the first Chinese to sail as far as Aden and southward along the Coast of Africa to somewhere near Abyssinia. During the 15th century, many Chinese as well as Europeans visited the Continent of Africa. Ma Huan and Fi Hsin also made voyages of exploration to Africa and recorded what they had seen and done. That was a glorious page in the history of China. Although Cheng Ho did not establish any colony for China in the political sense, he played a great part in the subsequent movements of emigration of the Chinese to foreign countries. Today, there are some 14,000,000 overseas Chinese, most of whom are in the Southeast Asia area.

The division of the country into provinces originated at the time of the Yuan Dynasty. During the Yuan Dynasty, there were, besides the administrative department of the central government, 13 "provinces" to rule over the prefectures, *chow* and *hsien*. The former were equivalent to our Executive Yuan, while the latter were equivalent to its ministries and commissions. Therefore, the "province" was originally the name of a government organ, not that of an administrative unit. The practice

of assigning a cabinet minister to a "province" resulted later in the appointment of viceroys and governors. From the foregoing, we can see that the system of government in China had undergone several changes prior to the Yuan Dynasty. In addition to the two North and South provinces directly under the control of the Imperial Court, there were 13 administrative commissioners. An administrative commissioner was appointed for Chao Chi (now Indochina), but the post was soon abolished. During the reign of Kang Hsi (the second Emperor of the Ching Dynasty), the South Province was divided into Kiangsu Province and Anhwei Province, while the Hu Kwang Province was divided into Hunan Province and Hupeh Province. Shensi Province and Kansu Province also became separate entities at the same time. This accounts for the creation of the 18 provinces of China Proper. The three Northwestern provinces and Sinkiang Province came into being later. Taiwan province, which fell into Japanese hands soon after its establishment, was restored to China 50 years later.

At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, a number of garrison headquarters were set up. Every garrison had a force 5,000 strong under a commander. Under the commander were five commanding officers in charge of 1,000 men each. Above these commanders and commanding officers were a number of Commanders-in-Chief. The troops were stationed in the strategic areas. At first, this military system had nothing to do with the administration of the areas. Later on, however, the commanders gradually took charge of the administrative work in the border areas where there were no *hsien* or prefectures. These areas eventually became special administrative units. The Ming Dynasty attached great importance to the defense of the northern borders. The Great Wall, as was mentioned above, constituted its northern frontier. There were, in the eastern section of the Great Wall from Chu Yung Kuan to Shanhaikuan, 32 stations which maintained beacon towers at all the elevations and hills. When lit at night, the beacons shed light into the deep valleys and glens. The wall, which is partly hidden among the folds of the mountain range, runs through a series of strategic points in the modern sense of the words. For example, the Chu Yung Kuan was deep and concealed, the better for purposes of defense.

The Ming Dynasty is generally regarded as a conservative age. Nevertheless, Emperor Chen Tsu personally led several military expeditions across the northern border beyond the northern bank of the O Nan River in Outer Mongolia (now the O Nan River, a tributary of the Heilungkiang in its upper course). He also sent Yi Shi Ha with troops across the Gulf of Tartary to attack Kooyeh (now Sakhalin Island). Furthermore, he had a commander appointed to rule over the three military administrative areas in the Northeast. The greatest contribution of the Ming Dynasty, however, was the development of the Southwest. Yunnan became a province in the Yuan Dynasty, and Kweichow in the Ming Dynasty. In the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, a considerable number of people from south of the Yangtze River came to Yunnan as members of various expeditionary forces. Many of them eventually settled down in that province. Thus, Yunnan gradually assimilated the culture brought from the outside provinces. During the reign of Emperor Wu Tsung, Wang Yang-min, a famous

scholar and philosopher of the Ming Dynasty, was exiled to the Lung Chang Stage Post in Kweichow. Kweichow thus came under the cultural influence of the rest of China. Very little was known about the geography of the Southwest until the time of Hsu Hsia-keh, who visited that area towards the close of the Ming Dynasty. It was only then that people came to know that the Kin Sha River was in fact the upper course of the Yangtze River and that the Red River, the Mekong and the Salween flowed into the South China Sea separately. These were all important geographical discoveries.

The Ching Dynasty originated in Manchuria. After the area to the south had come under its domination, Peiping was made its capital with Mukden as its alternate. In the 22nd and 38th year of the reign of Emperor Kang Hsi, Taiwan and Outer Mongolia were respectively added to the Chinese Empire. In the 22nd and 24th year, the northern Tienshan area and the southern Tienshan area were conquered respectively. Chinghai (now a province) and Tibet were conquered shortly after. Thus, China has not only suzerainty, but also sovereignty over Tibet. Military expeditions to Nepal were made from time to time, while the surrounding countries such as Korea, the Ryukyus, Indochina, Burma and the various Moslem tribes west of the Pamir all paid tribute to the Chinese Empire. Its territory was much larger than that of the Ming Dynasty.

During the reign of Kang Hsi, China employed large numbers of western missionaries to survey its territories, including Mongolia and Manchuria. In the 56th year of the reign of Kang Hsi (1717), the *Complete Map of the Empire* was finished and presented to the Emperor. The completion of the map constitutes a milestone in the geography of China, and serves to indicate the farsightedness of the Emperor. The map included Hami, but not Sinkiang, which had not been incorporated into the Chinese Empire. In the reign of Emperor Chien Lung, however, the Southern Tienshan area and the Northern Tienshan area were brought under the control of China. A number of experts were assigned to accompany the troops to undertake geographical surveys in Tashkent, Samarkand and the Kashmir. In the 47th year of the reign of Chien Lung (1782), a map of the "Western Region" was completed. This map remains the blue-print for all subsequent maps of Sinkiang. A map of Tibet was also completed during the reign of Kang Hsi, but it was not so detailed as those of the rest of China. The maps commissioned by the Imperial Court at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty served as useful reference for subsequent maps of China. Important geographical surveys and significant progress were made during the reign of Kang Hsi. With the completion of the map of the whole country, the *National Geography* soon appeared. It was started in the ninth year of the reign of Emperor Chien Lung (1744), resumed in the 55th year of his reign (1790), and completed in the 22nd year (1842) of the reign of Emperor Tao Kwang. It comprised a total of 562 books. It first dealt with the capital, then the provinces, and then Mongolia, Tibet and the various vassal states in the "Western Region," and finally the countries which paid tribute to China. When we compare the map of the Republic of China with a

map of the Chinese Empire when the Ching Dynasty was at the height of its power, we can see how much territory we have lost.

During the Ching Dynasty, there were three grades of local government, the province, the prefecture and the *hsien*. Between the first two was the *tao*, which was not an administrative, but a supervisory body. The chief official of a *tao* was one who supervised over officials and not one who ruled over the people. Consequently, he was not an independent authority in the system of local government. Between the prefecture and the *hsien* were the *chow* and the bureaus which had the same status as the prefecture. They were directly under the provincial government and were of the same grade as the *hsien*. After the founding of the Republic of China, the *tao*, the prefecture, the *chow* and the bureau were all successively abolished. Today, the system of local government is based on the province, the municipality, the *hsien* and the administrative bureau. According to the Ministry of the Interior, there were in 1947 a total of 35 provinces, 12 municipalities directly the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan, namely, Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow, Chungking, Canton, Tsingtao, Peiping, Tientsin, Sian, Dairen, Mukden and Harbin, 57 municipalities under the jurisdiction of the province, and 2,016 *hsien* and 40 administrative bureaus which were set up to govern comparatively backward areas where no *hsien* governments had been set up. In addition, there is Tibet, which is a "territory." The status of Outer Mongolia was at first similar to that of Tibet. But in 1946, it became "independent," as a result of the aggression committed by Soviet Russia against China. With the abrogation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, it is obvious that Outer Mongolia should be restored to China.

Following the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, the four Northeastern Provinces fell into Japanese hands one after another. The loss of the provinces meant a loss of 11.5 per cent of our territory and 8 per cent of our population. China entered into a period of crisis with the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression which led to World War II. Geographically, the greatest achievement during the past 100 years has been the development of the Northeast. Between 1923 and 1930, more than 5,000,000 people settled down in that area. In its report, the League of Nations Fact Finding Commission headed by Lord Lytton made it unmistakably clear that the Northeast was definitely part of China's territory. It pointed out that from either the *de jure* or the *de facto* point of view, any attempt to wean the Northeast from China would create a serious irredentist problem. Shortly before our victory over Japan, Russian troops marched into the Northeast and, in violation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, instigated the Chinese Reds to rebel against the Chinese Government on a nation-wide scale. The fall of the Northeast marks the beginning of the fall of the whole of the mainland to the Communists. The chief objective of our war against the Chinese and Soviet Communists is to uphold the integrity of the territory and the sovereignty of China. Economically, the Northeast is the biggest granary as well as the wealthiest industrial center of China. After the restoration of the mainland, the Northeast will become a vital base for our national reconstruction and revival.



Straddling the Taiwan Straits, the Pescadores constitute the gateway to Taiwan. The Pescadores, which were visited by the Chinese in the Sui Dynasty, were incorporated into the territory of China in the Yuan Dynasty. It was not, however, until the time of Emperor Shen Tsung of the Ming Dynasty towards the end of the 16th century that people began to settle down in and to develop Taiwan on a large scale. The word "Taiwan" was originally the name of an aboriginal tribe living in the vicinity of Tainan. When the people from the mainland began to encroach upon their territory, they gradually moved up to the mountains. Beginning from the fourth year of the reign of Emperor Chung Tsin of the Ming Dynasty (1622), Taiwan was occupied by the Dutch for 38 years until the 15th year of the reign of Emperor Yung Li of the Ming Dynasty, or the 18th year of the reign of Emperor Shun Chi of the Ching Dynasty (1661), when the Dutch were driven out by Cheng Ch'eng Kung, the famous patriot and military leader. Using Taiwan as an operational headquarters in the fight against the Manchus and for the restoration of the Ming Dynasty, Cheng Ch'eng Kung made Tainan a political center and Anping a military pivot. He also stationed garrison forces in Tamsui and the Pescadores. Cheng Ch'eng Kung's reign in Taiwan lasted for three generations (23 years). He remained loyal to and fought for the Ming Dynasty. It was for this reason that he came to be known as Ming Ming-cheng Dynasty. During his reign, some 200,000 patriots from the coastal areas of Fukien and Kwangtung flocked to his banner. Since then, Taiwan became legally and factually a part of China. The Ching Dynasty conquered Taiwan in the 23rd year of the reign of Emperor Kang Hsi and established a prefecture there under the Fukien provincial government. The trend of development in Taiwan in the Ching Dynasty was northward and eastward. The population of Taiwan in the 22nd year of the reign of Emperor Tao Kwang (1842) totalled 2,500,000, or ten times more than that at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty. The development of agriculture and water conservancy in Taiwan went on apace. Rice and sugar became the main items of export. The culture and the wealth of Taiwan were not inferior to those of the provinces on the mainland.

After the Sino-French War (the 11th year of the reign of Emperor Kang Hsi, 1885), the status of Taiwan was raised to that of a province. Liu Ming-chuan, the first governor of Taiwan, who hoped to make a showcase of Taiwan for the whole country, took vigorous steps to develop the agriculture, forestry, industry, mining, communications and trade of the island. Consequently, Taiwan was given a "new look" and a firm foundation for the process of modernization. Unfortunately, four years after the expiration of his term of office, the island fell into the hands of the Japanese. On April 17 in the 21st year of the reign of Emperor Kang Hsi, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. In accordance with the terms of that treaty, Taiwan and the Pescadores were ceded to the Japanese. The rule of the Ching Dynasty over Taiwan lasted 220 years. During the Japanese occupation, the economy of Taiwan was typically colonial. The people in Taiwan were deeply grieved over the indignity suffered by China. On various occasions, they rebelled against the Japanese. However, receiving no support from the Manchu government, they were powerless against

the might of the Japanese Army. Their valiant struggles in the face of insuperable odds constitute a poignant chapter in the history of China. When the Pacific War broke out, Taiwan became an important Japanese base for the conquest of the South-east Asia area.

The restoration of Taiwan was one of the chief aims of the Chinese revolutionary movement. During the 50-year period of Japanese occupation, numerous insurrections were started by the people in Taiwan. In 1937, when our war of resistance against Japanese aggression broke out, the Chinese Central Government reiterated its determination to restore Taiwan to China. In 1943, the Cairo Conference declared, "All the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China." On August 25th, 1945, Japan announced its unconditional surrender. On August 25th, 1945, a take-over ceremony was held in Taipei. Taiwan was thus restored to China. Four years after the restoration of Taiwan, however, the mainland was overrun by the Communists. Today, Taiwan constitutes a rallying point for our war against the Chinese and Soviet Communists. It has consequently assumed a much more important role. Although the history of Taiwan is a history of mass migration movements, the mass migration from the mainland in recent years has dwarfed all similar movements previously. Although Taiwan came under Japanese domination for 50 years, the valiant spirit of the people has remained untarnished. The 10,000,000 Chinese people on Taiwan, military and civilian, are a cross-section of the hundreds of millions of people on the mainland. Taiwan has become a rallying point for all freedom-loving Chinese as well as a democratic bastion in the West Pacific area. President Chiang has said, "Taiwan, the base for the war against the Chinese and Soviet Communists, stands at the forefront of the naval and air forces of all the nations which are against aggression on the one hand, and constitutes the front line of defense against the ground and air might of the aggressors on the other." The importance of Taiwan therefore is too obvious for comment. The development and progress of Free China will not only affect the stability of the Far East, but will also affect the peace and security of the world. The development of Taiwan is prerequisite to the restoration of the mainland and to the renaissance of China based on the Three People's Principles.

## The Travels of Hsüan Chuang (玄奘)

By Chang Kuei-sheng 張桂生

*"I covet neither fame nor wealth. My sole  
aim is to seek the Law of Buddha."*

The Middle Ages have usually been regarded as a period of contrast between the East and the West. When darkness brooded over the Western world, India and China were living an intense intellectual and artistic life. The T'ang dynasty (618-904 A.D.) may be regarded as the Augustan Age in Chinese history. Culturally as well as politically, what the first Han dynasty had commenced was brought to its highest perfection, and it was perhaps one of the most favorable periods Buddhism has experienced. Since the middle of the sixth century, the Turks had dominated an area from the western slopes of the Khingan range to the banks of the Oxus. One of the Khanates had been established in Mongolia, another in present Russian Turkestan<sup>1</sup>. The Emperor T'ai-Tsung 太宗 first crushed the Mongolian Turks and then, during the twenty years that followed, made the Turks of Turkestan and even the various kingdoms of Central Asia acknowledge him as their overlord. Comparing T'ai-tsung with the great conquerors of former times, one is bound to recall the name of the most illustrious Emperor of Chinese antiquity, Han Wu-ti. If Chang Ch'ien represented one of the great characters of Wu-ti's time, then the corresponding brilliant personality accompanying T'ai-tsung was the pious Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan Chuang whose name was to become, together with that of T'ai-tsung, the most celebrated of the century, for history was one day to associate the Unifier and the Pilgrim in a common renown. The travels of Hsüan Chuang across the Gobi desert, the Pamir plateau, the Turan Basin and all over the Indian peninsula, equal in interest and magnitude those of the most daring explorers.

There are two major sources of material related to Hsüan Chuang's great adventure, namely, the *Ta Tz'ü-ên-Ssü-San-Tsang-Fah-Shih-Chuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 written by his biographer Hui-li 慧立 and *Ta-T'ang-Si-Yu-Chi* 大唐西域記, edited by Pien-chi 辯機. The former is a summary of the life of Hsüan Chuang and the general routes he had traveled, and the latter the narrative which accounts for all the detailed descriptions of various countries. The former was first translated into French by Stanislas Julien, entitled, *Histoires de la vie de Hiouen T'sang et des ses voyages*. Later, Samuel Beal translated the two books into English. One is entitled *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* and the other made up a great part of his book *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Following this was another English translation accomplished by

Thomas Watters, entitled *On Yuan Chwang*. We are deeply grateful for these contributions. However, since they are more concerned with historical events and religious matters, their interpretations on geographical subjects are not completely satisfactory. We, therefore, have to rely, on many occasions, upon the original sources.

For more than twelve centuries, Hsüan Chuang has been worshipped in the Chinese mind as a man of great perfection. As one of his admirers states, "In him, were joined sweetness and virtue. These roots, combined and deeply planted, produced their fruits rapidly. The source of his wisdom was deep and wonderfully it increased."<sup>1</sup>

In his early boyhood, he began to study the true and false, and to judge the right and wrong. Being a descendant of a long line of *literati*, he was brought up in the pure Confucian tradition. However, it so happened that, at the age of thirteen, the example of his elder brother, who had just entered the Buddhist order in the Ching-tu Monastery at Loyang, determined his vocation. In the years that followed, he plunged into the study of Buddhist philosophy.

In 618, when the future Emperor T'ai-tsung was undertaking a series of military campaigns, conditions in Central China were still very disturbed. Hsüan Chuang persuaded his brother to get out of the civil war. They went first to Ch'ang-an then to Han-Chung 漢中 and later arrived at Ch'engtu in the Szechwan Basin.

At Ch'engtu, which had remained unaffected by the devastating warfare that had swept over the rest of China, they found a great concentration of Buddhist teachers. Hsüan Chuang took this unique opportunity for study. In a period of three or four years, he studied all branches of Buddhist knowledge.

In those days, the Buddhist schools were both numerous and varied, ranging from the Sects of Hinayana or the Lesser Vehicle to, positivist in tendency, the mystical doctrines of Mahayana or the Greater Vehicle. They were far from coming to a common agreement. Troubled by the discrepancies, the young Buddhist did not know which system to follow. Finally, he came to the conclusion that only in India, the homeland of Buddhism, would he be able to find teachers who would once and for all put an end to his perplexities, and hence he made a vow to go to India.

When the dust of war began to settle down in Central China, Hsüan Chuang left his brother, sailed down the Yangtze Gorge and then followed the historic route, via Chingchou, Nanyang, Anyang to Chaochou. From Chaochou he went westward and arrived at Ch'ang-an where he planned to prepare for his great adventure.

In 629, when Hsüan Chuang set out for the West, he was about 26 years old and a very handsome young man. "His coloring was delicate, his eyes brilliant. His bearing was grave and majestic, and his features seemed to radiate charm and brightness. ...His voice was pure and penetrating in quality and his words were brilliant in their

nobility, elegance and harmony, so that his hearers never grew weary of listening to him...." <sup>3</sup> Besides these, he had also all the qualities of a Confucian, the deep virtue, prudence, moderation, friendliness and even, good disposition. Most important of all to geographers is the fact that he was an acute observer. The records of his travel which have come down to us, as we shall discover, are among the best in geographical literature.

Determined to fulfill his vow at all cost, he managed to leave Ch'ang-an. He knew well that there were difficulties ahead. But, with a single motive driving him on—to seek the truth—he was ready to face all the dangers and obstacles and to overcome them. His unshakable faith, resolve and serenity may be illustrated in the dream prelude to his journey. Before starting, he saw the holy mountain of Sumeru, towering in the midst of the Great Sea. He longed to cross the sea and climb the mountain, but there was no boat. He plunged into the roaring waves. At that moment, a majestic lotus sprang up under his feet. No sooner did he stand upon it than it vanished to reappear a pace ahead, and in this way he reached the base of the mountain. As he tried to climb to the summit, he found that the slopes were too steep; again and again he failed to get a foothold and slid down toward the sea. Suddenly a mysterious whirlwind raised him aloft and he found himself transported to the top. A vast horizon spread before him, a symbol of countless lands that his faith was about to conquer. In an ecstasy of joy, he awoke.

Throughout most of history it has been difficult for an individual to go to foreign countries. In the early part of the T'ang dynasty, the difficulty was ten times greater. The Emperor T'ai-tsung, whose power was still far from secure and who was constantly suspicious of the treachery of the western Turks, had forbidden his subjects to cross the frontier. Hsüan Chuang did indeed apply for permission to leave China. But the reply was a refusal. Since no official support was possible, Hsüan Chuang had to try his luck some other way.

He made his first stop at Liangchou, then a big market town on the caravan route leading to Mongolia and Turkestan, and the headquarters for frontier administration. On several occasions, he converted some wealthy traders who in return supplied him with gold, silver and (white) horses. At this moment, the government issued orders for his arrest. Hsüan Chuang left secretly, hiding by day and traveling by night, and proceeded swiftly through the Kansu corridor.

His next stop was at Kuachou. Messengers with government orders had also reached the frontier outpost. Luckily for him, the governor of Kuachou was a devout Buddhist. Instead of carrying out the arrest, he tore the paper to pieces in front of Hsüan Chuang and advised him to get away as quickly as possible.

Hsüan Chuang left the town in a great hurry and set off alone with little knowledge of the lands farther beyond. Shortly after, it so happened that a young Central



Asian by the name of Bundha presented himself to be his guide. Hsüan Chuang joyfully accepted his offer and agreed to meet him early the next day. Bundha reappeared at sunset, followed by an aged man riding on a skinny horse. The old man talked a great deal about the dangers in the west. As Hsüan Chuang reiterated his resolve, the old man told him that his skinny roan knew the road perfectly well and had traveled to Hami fifteen times. He persuaded Hsüan Chuang to accept his horse and he rode the fine white one.

The old man whipped up the horse and galloped off at high speed. By the end of the day, the two young men came in sight of the Jade Gate. They managed to cross the Sulai Ho. Night had fallen and Hsüan Chuang was completely worn out. He lay down in the sand and soon fell into sleep. Suddenly he woke up and saw that his mysterious companion, Bundha, who had lain down a hundred feet away, was creeping toward him, knife in hand. Hsüan Chuang began to pray to Kuan Yin for protection and continued to do so till Bundha had changed his mind and went to sleep. But no one could be safe who had a companion whom he could not trust. Before crossing the frontier, the young man deserted the pilgrim.

Nothing had shaken his faith. He went on alone and entered into the Peishan and the Kuruk-tagh deserts. He went on slowly guided by camel dung and the bleached bones of dead men. A phantom throng seemed to rise far ahead. He saw hundreds of armed horsemen. The shape of the troops blended and changed. As he drew near, all vanished together.

Not far away was the last Chinese frontier. Five signal towers were guarded by Chinese soldiers. He tried to slip across under the cover of night. When he came to the western side of the first tower, he found a little spring and went down to fill his water-bag. Instantly, he had been seen by the bowmen on guard. "Do not shoot", called Hsüan Chuang, "I am a monk from the capital." He came out boldly to the post. The guards brought him to the captain. The captain apparently had never heard such eloquence. He supplied him with provisions and showed him how to avoid the last tower—the officer in it was very hostile to Buddhists.

He plunged on into the Gashun desert where a terrible disaster overtook him. He upset his water-container. To cross over the immense desert without water was a dreadful prospect. He went on with no guide but his own shadow—the shadow of his faith—projected on the limitless sands. Tormented by thirst and worn out by the burning heat, he pressed on. "On this journey," he prayed, "I covet neither fame nor wealth. My sole aim is to seek the Law of Buddha." He was without water for four nights and five days. When he reached I-wu, the present Hami, he was more dead than alive.

The dark days were over. The king of Kao-ch'ang or the present Turfan oasis, who was deeply imbued with Buddhist culture, had been advised of the arrival of Hsüan Chuang at I-wu. He sent out envoys to invite the pilgrim to Turfan.

Hsüan Chuang had crossed the threshold of a foreign country. Chinese influence both political and cultural had ceased to play a major role in the Western Territory beyond Hami since the fall of the Han dynasty. The Turfan oases, sheltered by the mountain ranges of Boglo-ola and Edeman Daba in the north and Chol-tagh in the south, constituted one of the richest states of Central Asia.

The king wished to keep this honoured guest permanently, but nothing could induce him to give up his Indian project. The king finally lost his temper and shouted in the most impolite language, "You will either stay here or be sent back to China. So think it over."<sup>4</sup> Hsüan Chuang replied, "You will be able to keep my bones; you have no power over my spirit nor my will."<sup>5</sup> He resorted to passive resistance by a hunger-strike. For three days, he ate nothing. The king became alarmed and decided to let him go on condition that he stayed three years in Turfan on his way back.

The king provided him with a tremendous amount of gold, silver, servants, and a means of transportation. His financial support, it was estimated, would last the pilgrim for twenty years.<sup>6</sup> More important were his letters of recommendation to the rulers of twenty-four countries further west. Hsüan Chuang was no longer an illegal traveler. He had been given official standing.

His geographical records, or the narrative of *Ta-T'ang-Si-Yu-Chi*, begin with the state of Kao-ch'ang. Every country, he subsequently visited, was carefully described as to its size, history, population, physical environments, strategic significance, agricultural methods and products, commercial status, vital minerals then known, the living conditions of the people and the exact distances from other countries.

Leaving the old territory of Kao-ch'ang, the nearest neighboring state was called Agini (the present Yenki or Qarasahr). Although only one hundred miles in diameter, the strategic value of this small state was not overlooked by Hsüan Chuang. "On four sides, it is sheltered by mountains. The roads are precipitous, and very easy to defend." In early history, when Pan Ch'ao was conducting a series of campaigns in the Western Territory, Yenki had been one of the pivotal spots, the control of which means the domination of the entire Tarim Basin.

After crossing the Yulduz Qaiduqol and proceeding along the foothills of the T'ien Shan for about three hundred miles he entered another important country, which was then called Ch'ü-tzu 屈茲, the present Kucha. "The kingdom extends about a thousand *li* from east to west and about six hundred *li* from north to south." The pilgrim was impressed by its prosperity and civilization. The climate was mild and the soil suitable for crops. There were gold mines as well as ones for copper, lead and tin. More interesting to him was the fact that the people were cultured and very fond of music. The musicians usually gathered together and played in the form of an orchestra, which may indicate a predominant Indo-Iranian cultural influence.

The whole party then set out toward Pu-lu-chia 跋祿迦, the present Aqsu. On the way Hsüan Chuang had another narrow escape. They met a band of two thousand bandits who had just looted a caravan, and were still quarreling over the spoils, soon they began to fight among themselves and showed no interest in Hsüan Chuang's caravan.

After passing the town of Aqsu, the party left the historic trade route and went back along the Aqsu river. They crossed the T'ien Shan through the Bedal pass, which gave access from the Tarim Basin to the valley of Syrdarya. After a hundred miles of difficult travel, they came to the Ling Shan 凌山 (Icy Mountain). Of this region where the T'ien Shan joins the Pamir Knot, Hsüan Chuang gave us a picturesque description in which he displayed much of his geographical intelligence. "This is, in fact, the northern plateau of the Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 (the Pamir). From this point, rivers mostly flow eastward. Both hills and valleys are filled with heavy snow in spring and in summer. If it thaws for a time, the ice soon forms again. The roads are dangerous and the wind is bitterly cold." In addition, he mentioned a certain kind of fierce animal which apparently he had never seen with his own eyes. It was either through hearsay or based upon the information given by his early predecessor, Fa Hsien. "There are fierce dragons which frequently attack travelers and so those who travel this road should not wear red garments or carry sounding equipments nor shout aloud. The least violation of this rule will cause misfortune. Violent wind often rises suddenly and usually is followed by storms of flying sand and gravel. Those who encounter them have little chance to survive."<sup>7</sup> The crossing of the T'ien Shan cost him more than one-third of his men who died from hunger and cold, as did an even higher proportion of their animals.

After climbing over the glacial pass, Hsüan Chuang descended the highland and skirted along the southern shore of the Ta-ch'ing-ch'ih 大清池, or the Hot Sea 熱海, to use a common name, the Issyk-kul. "The lake" remarked Hsüan Chuang, "is about 1,000 *li* in circumference, wide from east to west and narrow from north to south. On all sides, it is surrounded by mountains and many streams empty into it. The color of the water is bluish black and its taste is bitter and salty. The roaring waves piling up on the shores give a dreadful view."

Going another 500 *li* northwestward, Hsüan Chuang came to the town of Su-yeh Ho 素葉河, on the present Chu River. It must have been somewhere close to the city of Toqmaq of today. The pilgrim left us a geographical term on which it is worthwhile speculating. "From the town of Su-yeh Ho as far as the state of Keshuangna 渴霜那, (the present Kesh), the land as well as the people are all called Tsuei-li 率利 (Turi?)."<sup>8</sup> If it did correspond to Turan, Hsüan Chuang would be the first explorer ever to have had a concept of the Turan Basin in a geographical sense.

The empire of the Western Turks had then reached its height. A great part of

Central Asia, stretching out from Turfan to Bactria, was in its sphere of influence. It was at the town of Su-yeh Ho that the pilgrim met the great Khan who was there enjoying his hunting. Hsüan Chuang was impressed by his great strength. "The Khan was usually surrounded by two hundred officers clad in brocade coats, all of them with their hair in plaits. The rest of the troops consisted of cavalry mounted on camels or horses, clothed in fur and fine woolen material and carrying long lances, banners, and straight bows. Their ranks stretched so far that the eye could not follow them. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The Khan invited Hsüan Chuang to his residence and, during the course of the feast, had 'pure food' prepared for him. The Khan through a short conversation with the pilgrim, found him a very likable personality. "You better not go to India," said the Khan to the pilgrim, "it is such a hot country that summer temperatures last all year round. Your face might melt when you arrive there. The inhabitants are black and most of them are naked. They have no regard for religious congregations, nor will they appreciate at all your visit."<sup>10</sup> Hsüan Chuang told the Khan that his sole aim was to seek the Law of Buddha. The Khan did not insist on keeping him. He gave the pilgrim a letter of introduction to the princes of the Gandhara region and ordered an interpreter to accompany him as far as the frontier of Kapisa in the upper Kabul valley.

The next place he stopped at was called Ch'ien Ch'üan 千泉, or the "Thousand Springs", about 400 li to the west of the town of Su-yeh Ho. This region, according to Grousset, is still called 'The Land of a Thousand Springs or Thousand Pools (Ming Bulak or Ming Kol).'<sup>11</sup> Hsüan Chuang states that, "It was bounded on the south by snowy mountains, and on the other sides, by level land. The land is well drained, the soil is fertile, and trees are abundant and in later spring flowers of all varieties spread out by the thousands and the appropriate name for it was thus given by the people."

Further on the pilgrim passed the town of Talas and then in a southwestern direction he entered the country of Niu-chih-chien 斂赤建, the present Tashkent. This was probably the first wealthy country he had seen since he left China. "The soil is fertile and yields good crops. Grass, trees, flowers and fruits grow in abundance. The most important crop is the grape. Cities and towns are counted by the hundreds."

The next country of importance on his route was called Sa-mo-chien 颶秣建, the present Samarkand. He crossed the Yeh Ho or the Syr Darya in the country of Tsuei-tu-li-sa-na 宰堵利瑟那. "This mighty river" said the pilgrim, "has its source on the northern plateau of the Ts'ung-ling (Pamir) and flows to the northwest. Coming out of the highlands, it widens its bed, becomes turbulent and laden with silt." In order to reach Samarkand, he had to cross the eastern spur of the Qizil Qum. "We entered a great sandy desert where there is neither water nor grass. The road is lost in the boundless waste. Only by watching the great mountains and following the

trail of bones scattered about can we know the way in which we ought to go. After 500 *li* of painful journey in these solitudes, Samarkand was in sight."

The famous Sogdiana land had been mentioned in Chinese history long before the Christian era. As we may recall, when Chang Ch'ien was sent out to locate the Yüeh-chih people, he passed this country then known by the name of K'ang-chü 康居. But the general aspect of this country had changed tremendously. It was no longer a 'land of moving people', but a key economic area in Central Asia, served by the trans-continental caravan route. "The city of Samarkand is well fortified and heavily populated. The people possess an immense quantity of rare and precious merchandise. It is a country not only rich in agriculture but also far advanced in handicraft work." More strange to Hsüan Chuang was its predominant religion, Zoroastrianism. "The king and his subjects are fire worshippers. There are only two Buddhist monasteries, and they are uninhabited."<sup>12</sup> Such a brief statement shows us how strong was the influence of Iranian culture. In social custom, Samarkand led the neighboring countries. "This country is in the middle of the Hu people (barbarians) and its customs are copied by all the people of the surrounding countries." These countries covered an area comparable to the present Uzbek Republic.

From Samarkand in a southwesterly direction, he passed Kesh or Chieh-shuang-na in Chinese. Further on, he entered the mountains of Kotin Koh, a detached chain of Pamir. "The mountain road" said Hsüan Chuang, "is steep and precipitous and the passage along the defiles, dangerous. There are no people nor villages. One can hardly find any water or grass."<sup>13</sup> After a hundred miles of lonesome journey, he came to the Iron Gate 鐵門.

"The so called pass" explains Hsüan Chuang, "is a narrow gorge between two parallel mountains of prodigious height. The road running between them adds more danger and difficulty. The rocky wall on either side has an iron color. A wooden gate has been set up and strengthened with iron. Many bells are hung there. Because of these particular features, it was given the name of Iron Gate."

South of the Iron Gate was the country of Tu-ho-lo 覡貨邏, (Tukhara, Ta-hsia, or Bactria), situated right across the middle valley of the Fu-tso Ho 轉 獨 河, or the Amu Darya. This was actually the land of ancient Bactria, the vassal state of the Greek Empire, first conquered by Alexander the Great. Two centuries later, it had passed to the Yüeh-chih people or the Indo-scythians. At the time of Chang Ch'ien, as we may recall, Ta-hsia was subdued by the Yüeh-chih. In the mid-fifth century, the Huns had swooped down. Subsequently, the Turks began to take over, but little had been recovered up to the time of Hsüan Chuang's visit. All signs seemed to show that it was no more than a land of misery. "For many centuries past," sighed the pilgrim, "the royal descendants have been extinct. Powerful chieftains have fought for possessions. Each relied upon certain natural barriers either of rivers or of mountains and thus broke up the whole kingdom into twenty-seven independent states. All of them looked up to the



Khan of the Turks as their overlord. When weather turns warm, disease prevails."<sup>14</sup> The only Greek cultural influence that remained was found in the form of writing and their monetary system. "The language they use differs from that of other nations. There are twenty-five 'word roots' (字源 letters). By combining them they express all kinds of things. They read and write in a horizontal line from left to right. In so doing, their literary records have gradually increased and far exceed those of the Turan people... In commercial transactions, they use gold and silver coins. The shape of these coins looks quite different from those of other countries."<sup>15</sup>

During the early thirties of the seventh century, the whole country of Bactria was under the name of Tokharistan (Hsüan Chuang called it Tu-ho-lo). The Turk ruler, by the name of Tardu, had his residence at Kunduz. He was a very close relative to both the Great Khan and the King of Turfan. Hsüan Chuang had brought letters for Tardu from both of them. After crossing the Oxus, therefore, he abandoned the main route between Samarkand and Balkh and turned eastward toward Kunduz in present northern Afghanistan. During his short stay there, he witnessed a very exciting scene in the history of the royal family. Tardu's wife or the 'princess from Turfan' had died. Tardu married again at once, and was poisoned by the new queen who put her lover on the throne. It was really a very discouraging situation, as one may imagine. Hsüan Chuang adapted himself very well. The usurper gave him the assurance of the same protection as Tardu had given him. Besides this, he had also invited him to visit his capital, Balkh.

Balkh, once the capital of Bactria, has sadly declined in importance. But in Hsüan Chuang's time, it was one of the most splendid centers of the whole Buddhist world. As Hsüan Chuang described it, "From the soil grows a great variety of crops. There are numerous species of flowers both on land and water." Despite devastation from time to time, there were still more than a hundred monasteries. He found a Buddhist teacher by the name of Projinakara. With this new friend, the pilgrim undertook the crossing of the Hindu Kush, "the Great Snowy Mountain."

"The road" said Hsüan Chuang, "is twice as difficult and dangerous as those amidst the deserts and glaciers. Dense clouds hang over it all the time and the blizzard strikes continuously. There is hardly any moment when one can see clearly. Level ground is hardly to be found even for a few dozen feet."<sup>16</sup> It was so hard to find a place for relief until he reached the country of Bamiyan or Fan-yen-na 梵衍那 as he called it,

The country of Bamiyan covered the whole mountain valley separating the Hindu Kush from the Koh-i-Baba range. "The pattern of settlement of the inhabitants" observed Hsüan Chuang, "is a consequence of their physical environment... It is a poor land for agriculture. Only in spring does wheat grow. The climate is too cold for the growth of flowers and fruits. It is suitable for cattle breeding and abounds in sheep and horses."<sup>17</sup> Modern archaeologists were struck by the accuracy of Hsüan

Chuang's description of the site of the town of Bamiyan. "The town clings to the steep mountain side and stretches across the valley for 6 or 7 li. On the north, it is backed by a high rock."

The pilgrim now took the historic route which leads to India. The next important country en route was Kapisa. It was one of the few geographical names for which both Chinese and Graeco-Roman geographers gave similar sound. Chia-pi-shih 迦畢試 as it was called by Hsüan Chuang or Kapissia as named by the others, is the northeastern part of present Afghanistan. Its capital was not, however, situated in Kabul but some 40 miles north of it. Alfred Foucher has ascertained that Hsüan Chuang crossed the pass of Shibar and followed along the narrow valley of the Ghorband, a tributary of the Kabul river as far as the point where the Panjshir joined that stream.<sup>18</sup> "The whole country" as Hsüan Chuang put it, "backs up on the north against the Snowy Mountain or the Hindu Kush, and the other three sides are bounded by Black Mountains"—meaning mountain chains which completely lose their snow in summer.<sup>19</sup>

With such a favorable geographical location, the capital undoubtedly held a commanding position on the route between India and Bactria. The whole region, watered by the rivers of Ghorband and Panjshir and enjoying a rather mild climate, is eminently suitable for agriculture. From Hsüan Chuang's view-point Kapisa was also politically important. "The king has a violent nature and by awesome power he dominated ten or more neighboring states." Tracing its history, Hsüan Chuang learned that when King Kanishka 迦膩色 of Gandhara, by force of arms, extended his territories to the east of Pamir, the princes who ruled over the area west of the Ho (the Tarim river), had built their summer residences here.

Hsüan Chuang decided to spend the summer of 630 here. He seemed to have felt himself in complete harmony with the ideas of the Buddhists of this country, and wrote down some myths in the Mahayanist belief. He mentioned a certain kind of "black scented oil" which exudes from the interstices of the stone above a cupola; a certain city which, in spite of frequent earthquakes and avalanches, still stood firm; and the peak of O-lu-no 阿路猱 (Aruna), which increased several hundred feet in height each year, and when it approached the height of Mount Tso-na-hsi-lo 柁那西羅 (Sunagir) in the country of Tso-ku-cha 漕矩吒 (Tsaunkuta), it would fall down again.

When autumn came, his friend Projinakara returned to Balkh. Hsüan Chuang, having recovered from fatigue, was ready to resume his journey toward India. He went down to the Kabul valley and then following the Kabul river, he descended step by step to the country of Lan-po 濫波 (Lampaka).

The pilgrim instantly noticed the difference in the landscape. Rice and sugar cane grew in abundance. "Forest gives a green cover in the valley. The climate is much milder. During the winter, one rarely sees any snow though occasionally a little frost does occur."<sup>20</sup>

There is, indeed, a sharp contrast between the area described above and the upland regions a few hundred miles to the west. Every modern geographer will agree that Lampaka is actually within the reach of the geographical atmosphere of India. Although it was a dependent state of Kapisa, Hsüan Chuang made no mistake by putting it geographically in India. On leaving Lampaka, he went down along the southern bank of the Kabul river and through the famous Khyber pass entered the country of Chien-tai-lo 健駄羅 or Gandhara.

Gandhara, among many places in northwestern India, had experienced the terrible devastations of the Ye-ta 嚧達 or Ephthalite Huns. In the eyes of Hsüan Chuang, it was merely a land of ruins. In a brief account, he expressed his sad feeling about the land of past glory. "The capital which is about 40 *li* in circuit is called Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo 布路沙布邏 (Peshawar). The royal family is wiped out and the kingdom has been annexed by the country of Kapisa. Towns and villages are emptied and abandoned, and only a few inhabitants are seen... There are more than one thousand Buddhist monasteries which are in ruins and deserted. The weeds which grow over the ruins make for a very mournful solitude. The stupas are mostly decayed. Temples counted by the hundred are occupied by various heretics." <sup>21</sup>

On leaving Peshawar, he crossed the Kabul river at its widest part which is to the northeast of that city. There were a number of stupas and historic monuments which attracted his attention. As a result of his visit to them, he explored a large part of the Peshawar plain.

At Peshawar, he left the main route. Instead of going directly to the heartland of India, he took a long excursion northward parallel to the course of the Indus and entered the Swat valley, or the country of U-chang-na 烏仗那 (Uddiyana).

What amazed the pilgrim was the change of climate and vegetation due to elevation, as he traveled upstream. The soil of the Swat valley was fairly fertile and the climate at the bottom of the valley was so mild that grape vines could grow in abundance. "The forests are thick and shady. Fruits and flowers abound. The temperature is agreeable and breezes are caressing." A little over eighty miles ahead, the picture changed completely. The upper valley is already a part of the Himalaya mountains. "One frequently sees ice during spring and summer. The snow often flies in whirling storms from dawn to nightfall, reflecting in five colors and shining in every direction with dazzling light." <sup>22</sup> From the central Swat valley, he began another adventurous tour following the upper Indus river. "The mountain roads," described his biographer, "are very dangerous and the valleys dark and gloomy. Sometimes one had to cross on rope bridges, sometimes by clinging to iron chains, now there are gangways hanging in mid-air, now flying bridges flung across precipices. There were paths hewn out with chisel or ladders for climbing." <sup>23</sup>

This experience came to an end when he arrived at the country of Po-lu-lo 鉢露羅 (Bolor). Hsüan Chuang, like Sung Yun and Marco Polo, had a bad impression of the people of this alpine country. "The inhabitants" he said, "are rough and rude in character and know very little about humanity or justice. They never have learned anything about manner or courtesy, and they are as ugly as they can be."<sup>24</sup>

From Bolor, the pilgrim backtracked to Gandhara, where he crossed the Indus at a point north of Attock. There the river bed widens to more than half a mile. A short distance to the east was the city of Ta-ch'a-shih-lo 咀叉始羅 (Taxila). Hsüan Chuang, with great feeling, visited the scene of the touching legend of the torture of Prince Kunala by Asoka's new favorite. The town of Taxila, once a center of Indo-Greek civilization and famous for Gandhara art, was steeped in history. But here again the land had suffered heavily from the invasion of the Huns and had not yet recovered.

Not far away is the "Shangri-la" of Kashmir, an isolated country whose charm and beauty have been amply described by modern travelers. Hsüan Chuang wished very much to see it even though the road was just as difficult as the one along the upper Indus. He climbed precipitous heights and crossed iron-chain bridges, and after three hundred miles of hardship, reached the kingdom of Chia-shih-mi-lo 迦濕彌羅 (Kashmir). "This country is about 7,000 li in circumference. On four sides, it is enclosed by high mountains. Although there are passes through them, they are so narrow that neighboring countries, from time immemorial, have never been able to attack successfully. The capital (Srinagar), on the western side, is bounded by a large river (the Jhelum). This country is suitable for agriculture and produces a great variety of flowers and fruits... The climate is cold and stern. There is heavy snow but little wind... The people are very good-looking but not sincere. They believe that the country is protected by dragons and thus play their superiority over the neighboring countries."<sup>25</sup>

The maharajah gave him a magnificent reception. As he approached Srinagar, he felt as if he had entered paradise. "The road was covered with parasols and standards, strewn with flowers and drenched in perfumes."

Next day when Hsüan Chuang dined at the Palace, he met the great Buddhist philosopher Sanghayases who was nearly seventy years old and a Mahayanist. The meeting of these two great minds was a pleasant one. The old scholar was delighted to discover that Hsüan Chuang was a good thinker and had an excellent comprehensive power. He believed that, through his tutorship, his Chinese pupil might one day be able to carry on the tradition of the Idealist School. He agreed to give him special coaching. Hsüan Chuang took his philosophical training in the daytime and the evenings were devoted to the study of Sanskrit grammar and logic. In so doing, he passed two full years in Kashmir.

The holy land of the Ganges was still a long way off. Hsüan Chuang, having acquired his basic training, had to set out again. In the spring of 633, he came down from the high valleys of Kashmir. He probably crossed the Chenab river near Jammu and then halted at Sakala or Shē-chieh-lo in Chinese, the present Sialkot in the eastern Punjab.

After leaving Sialkot, disaster once more overtook him. When passing through a big forest, Hsüan Chuang together with some travelers met a band of fifty robbers. These robbers stripped them of all that they possessed, even their clothes. He and his companions escaped with their lives but lost all they had. The travelers, robbed of all their belongings, were all in tears. Only Hsüan Chuang maintained his composure. In consoling the others, he said, "After all we are still alive. Life is the world's greatest treasure. You and I are still alive, so that our greatest treasure is not lost. Why do you let a little loss of money and clothing bother you so much?"

Sometimes loss and gain are twin brothers. Scarcely had they crossed the border of Takka country, than they met a friendly Brahman. Perhaps Hsüan Chuang's publicity had spread from Kashmir. The Brahman assembled the inhabitants of his village. When everybody heard the messenger proclaim, "The monk from China is here. He has just been robbed of everything, even his clothes," more than three hundred people set out at once to meet him, each bringing a load of food, drink and clothes. Hsüan Chuang and his companions accepted the equivalent of what they had lost.

The next place at which Hsüan Chuang halted for nearly fourteen months was Chi-na-pu-ti 至那僕底 (Cinabhukti) corresponding to modern Ferozepore on the right bank of the Beas river.<sup>20</sup> Here he found an immense body of Mahayanist literature. A summary of this literature made under his direction in 659 A.D. became the textbook of Idealist Buddhism in China and Japan.

After crossing the Beas river and traveling northeastward, the pilgrim reached Jalandhara, where the climate is warm and moist, and the land is favorable for the cultivation of cereals and produces much rice. Beyond Jalandhara, flat land gave way to high mountains. After climbing several passes and traversing some deep valleys, he reached the country of Chu-lu-to 屈露多, (Kuluta) in the upper Beas. The country deepest in the mountain valleys of the Himalayas, according to his records, was called Mo-lo-so 秣邏婆, (Ladak) about 4,000 li to the north of Kuluta. Since his account of the highland countries was so brief, the information must have been gathered from hearsay.

From Kuluta, our pilgrim tells us, he proceeded in a southerly direction. After climbing a high mountain, crossing a big river (the Sutlej), and traveling 700 li, he reached the country of She-to-t'u-lu 設多圖盧, (Sitadrus). This country was bounded by the same big river, and therefore corresponds approximately to the present Simla.



Coming down from the Simla Hill, Hsüan Chuang entered the area of Central India, and on his journey through the country of Po-li-ye-ta-lo 波理夜咄囉 (Paryatra), he mentioned a "strange species" of rice which ripens after sixty days. The capital of this country has been identified by M. Reinand with Bairat.<sup>27</sup> From the town of Bairat, he swung to the east and thus arrived at the country of Mo-t'u-lo 秣菟羅 (Mathura); in the middle valley of the Jumna. Here, he was already sensible of the subtropical atmosphere, unlike that of the dry land of Punjab. "The soil" said he, "is very fertile and agriculture is the chief business. Mango trees are grown in orchards. Each family plants so many that they form a kind of forest."

From Mathura, according to the Narrative, Hsüan Chuang went up the course of the Jumna to visit Sha-t'a-ni-shih-fa-lo 薩他泥溼伐羅, the modern Thanesvar. Due much to its peculiar location, Thanesvar was a very important place. It held a key position in this 'hour-glass' region. Commercially, it dominated the trade route between the two geographic regions of the Indus valley and that of the Ganges. Such a geographical advantage no doubt had made this country a 'land of opportunity'. "The customs of the people" he relates, "are illiberal. Most families are rich and they vie with each other in extravagance.... Since a great majority of them are devoted to trading, few are given to farming. Rare and valuable merchandise from other lands is collected in this country."<sup>28</sup>

Resuming his journey, Hsüan Chuang crossed the Ya-mo-na 閼牟那河 (Jumna) river near Shrughna. Then another journey of 800 li eastward brought him to the upper Ganges. Since time immemorial, the sacred 'Ganga' had been worshipped by the Hindus as the divine river descending from heaven. "The upper reaches of the river" Hsüan Chuang tells us, "are about three or four li wide. The river flows south-east to the sea. At its mouth, it is about ten li in width. Its waters are clear and bluish and great waves rise in it. There are numerous creatures in it, but they are harmless to men. The water tastes sweet and carries along with it sands of extreme fineness. In ordinary books, it is called "Blessed Water". Those who bathe in it are cleansed of their accumulated sins. Those who drown themselves in it are reborn in heaven with happiness. If a man dies and his bones are cast into the river, he cannot fall into an evil way. While he is carried downstream, his lost soul is saved."

Hsüan Chuang probably crossed the Ganges somewhere near the modern town of Hardawar, and thus entered into another country called Mo-ti-pu-lo 秣底補羅 (Matipura). Nature has endowed the place with the best qualities of beauty and charm which makes it a center ideal for recreation. "It yields grains, fruits and flowers, and it has a genial climate." We learn, however, that at the time of Hsüan Chuang's visit, most of the resort activity was centered at the city of Mo-yu-lo 摩裕羅, on the eastern bank of the river. "Not far from the town and standing by the Ganges river is a large Deva temple of many miracles. In the midst of it is a tank the banks of which are made of stone joined skillfully together. The tank is fed by the Ganges through a canal. People from all the Five Indies called it 'the Gate of the Ganga

River', a place where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are constantly many thousands of people from distant regions crowded here bathing."

Further east-bound, the pilgrim passed through a country which he called Po-lo-hi-mo-pu-lo 婆羅吸摩補羅, (Brahmapura). Cunningham has been able to identify it with British Garhwal and Kumaun.<sup>29</sup> Here, through hearsay, he gleaned some information about a mythical region farther to the north and wrote down a story similar to the one recounted by Marco Polo. "Far in the Great Snow Mountains, is the country of Sa-fa-la-na-ku-to-lo 蘇伐剌拏瞿怛羅, (Suvarnagatra), known then as the Gold Kingdom. From this country comes a sort of gold superior in quality and hence the name. This is also known as the Eastern Women's Kingdom 東女國, because it has been ruled by a succession of women. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he takes no part in the state affairs. The men manage the wars and cultivate the fields and that is just about all. The land produces winter wheat and large numbers of cattle, sheep and horses. The climate is severely cold and the people are hasty and impetuous."

As the pilgrim turned to the south, he found a noticeable change in the landscape and the population density. Flowers and groves, lakes and ponds succeeded each other in regular order. The weather was very agreeable. The population became more numerous.

After crossing the Ganges, Hsüan Chuang began to travel in a southeasterly direction. He passed through the rich country situated between the Ganges and its two tributaries, the Kalinadi and the Ramganga. His immediate objective was apparently the famous town of Kanauj or the "City of Hump-backed Maidens" 曲女城.

Kanauj, somewhat declined today in importance, was for many hundred years the Hindu capital of Northern India. As we may recall, Masudi, in his book, called it "the capital of one of the kings of India." At the time of Hsüan Chuang's visit, Kanauj was the capital of Raja Harsha Vardhana, the most powerful sovereign in Northern India. The pilgrim was struck by the beauty and richness of the town. "It has lofty walls and solid trenches. Towers and pavilions reflect each other in the sunlight. There are beautiful gardens, and water pools are crystal clear. Rare merchandise from strange lands were collected. The inhabitants live in happiness and prosperity. They have fine appearance and dress in glossy silk attire and most of them are given to learning and the arts. As to other religions, they are equally divided between orthodox and heterodox."

During his visit to Kanauj, Hsüan Chuang did not meet the king, Harsha, who was absent from the town. When he had set out once more on his journey, he crossed the Ganges and proceeded along the northern bank of its course. After passing the town of Ayodhya, he went on board a vessel with about eighty other passengers. It

seems to have been near Cawnpore that the most dramatic episodes took place. The boat reached a spot where both banks of the river were shrouded by the foliage of Asoka trees. Amid these trees were concealed some ten pirate boats. These boats suddenly burst forth to midstream. Some passengers, terrified at the sight, cast themselves into the river. Others including the pilgrim were brought to the bank and stripped of their clothing. The pirates were worshippers of Durga, a cruel divinity who demanded human sacrifices of her followers. Every year during the autumn, they had to seek a victim, preferably a handsome young man with good features, whom they killed, offering his flesh and blood to the goddess to procure good fortune. Seeing that Hsüan Chuang would be the most suitable for this cruel purpose, the gang exchanged joyful glances. "Our sacrifice" said the pirates, "has been delayed because we could not find such a suitable person... Let us kill him and gain good fortune."

The pilgrim replied resolutely, "If this poor and defiled body of mine could fulfill your purpose, then, indeed, I would not begrudge it, but as I come from a distant land to pay reverence to the Sacred Places, to seek the Law, and as this purpose has not yet been accomplished, I fear, O men of generous heart, it will bring you misfortune."

His eloquence this time had no success. The chief of the pirates gave orders to his men to build an altar of mud for the sacrifice. At this very crucial moment, when Hsüan Chuang was just about to enter Nirvana, a miracle happened. A furious typhoon (probably the head of the monsoon) rose, smiting down the trees, whirling clouds of sand and piling up waves which upturned the boats. The pirates, all seized with fear, asked: "Where does this monk come from?" "He is a famous monk from China to seek the Law of the Buddha," said one of Hsüan Chuang's companions, "To kill him would bring you endless penalties. Do you not see already the anger of heaven?"

The pirates, terror-stricken, threw themselves at the feet of Hsüan Chuang. Hsüan Chuang accepted their penitence, but explained to them that evil courses such as slaying, stealing, and the practice of pagan worship lead inevitably to the torments of Hell. The gang were touched and, in proof of their repentance, threw their weapons into the Ganges. In an instant, winds and waves calmed down.

After the dramatic incident, the pilgrim went down stream, and came to the country of Po-lo-ya-chia 鉢邏耶迦 (Prayaga). The capital city, apparently the present Allahabad, was located at the junction of two rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna. He praised the agriculture of the country, the climate and the people.

On the eastern side of the capital where the two rivers joined together, the Narrative continues, there was a plain covered entirely with fine sand. Since time immemorial, royal families and people of high class had come to the place to make their offerings and contribute gifts and hence it was called the 'Grand Arena of Largesse' 大施場. Hsüan Chuang also remarked how the Ganges was worshipped by crowds of

Hindus. "At the confluence of the rivers and to the east of the Arena, every day several hundred people arrived to die in the sacred water, hoping to be thereby reborn in Heaven. The practice is not confined only to human beings. Deer and monkeys also trooped down to the river. Often they refuse to go back and remain fasting till they die."

On leaving Allahabad, Hsüan Chuang went to the southwest to visit the country of Chiao-shang-mi 橋賞彌 (Kausambi). He passed through a forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants. Cunningham calculated that travel in this wild area must have been difficult allowing perhaps only five or six miles a day.

From Kausambi, the pilgrim, instead of going down the Ganges to Benares, went up, due north. Traveling in this direction, he crossed stream after stream and then arrived at Sravasti or Shih-lo-fa-shi-ti of our author. Around the ruined city which has been identified as the present Sahet-Mahet there were a number of holy places each of which was marked by some commemorative stupa. It was at Sravasti that Buddha had worked the Great Miracle. The city by the foot of the Himalayas, was much admired by the pilgrim for its clear ponds, luxuriant verdure and innumerable flowers.

About 500 li to the southeast was Buddha's birthplace, Kapilavastu or in Chinese Chieh-pi-lo-va-sui-tu 劫比羅伐率堵. With poignant sadness, Hsüan Chuang called up the sacred memories which clung to the ruins. Yet, as a good geographer, he remarked that the land was fertile and well drained, with a temperate climate all the year round and with regular seasons.

Penetrating further east, he traveled through a belt of forest, infested with wild animals as well as bands of robbers. At the end of this dangerous road was the country of Kusinagara which he called Chu-si-na-chieh-lo 拘尸那揭羅. The place has been identified with the present site of Kasia on the right bank of the Gandok.<sup>20</sup> Our pilgrim must have recalled that it was at this ruined spot between the Big and Little Gandok rivers that Buddha had entered into Nirvana. The faint words of Vajrapani or Chih-chin-kang began echoing in his heart. "To cross the vast sea of life and death, who will provide us boat and oars? To walk in the long and dark night, who will be our guide and torchlight?"

From the half dozen mythical stories that Hsüan Chuang recounted about Kusinagara, it seems that for a long period of time, this area had been heavily forested. Fire often broke out in the center of it. Following each of these calamities, there was a big flood. As fire and flood alternated, the wildlife population had been reduced tremendously.

On leaving the sacred place of Nirvana, Hsüan Chuang again entered the vast forests that separate the Gandok from the Gogra and the Gumti. At the end of this journey he came to Benares.

Benares, the ancient Varapasi or the Po-lo-ni-ssu 婆羅痾斯 of our author, was the sacred city of Hinduism. After mentioning the agreeable climate and the luxuriant vegetation of the district, he remarked on the denseness of population, the wealth accumulated and the ancient civilization which grew therewith. What amazed him most was the magnificent works of art and architecture. The temples were full of grandeur and majesty. Some stupas stood two to three hundred feet high with artificial pools built at their fronts. Despite the ever-flourishing tide of Hinduism, Benares was not without souvenirs of Buddha. Hsüan Chuang skillfully described every monument complete with its history and legends.

After paying homage to all these sites, he went down the Ganges to visit the town of Fei-shê-li 吠舍釐 (Vaisali), the present town of Besarh on the lower Gandak. Vaisali, then a dead town, had been one of the favorite residences of the Buddha. In this well-watered area, temperature and humidity increased noticeably. Our pilgrim found that mango trees and bananas grew exceedingly well.

There is an extraordinary inconsistency of statement about his journey after his departure from Vaisali. The *Life*, written by Hui-li, leads us directly down the south to the country of Magadha, while the *Narrative* took us to the Himalayan state of Nepal, some 2,000 li to the north. Cunningham has highly praised the accuracy of his estimate of the distances, and Watters has lauded him for his account of the Samvajji tribes. His remarks for the area further north seem, however, partly correct and partly mixed with legends. "The country of Ni-po-lo 尼波羅 (Nepal)" the *Narrative* proceeds, "is about 4,000 li in circumference and is situated among the Snowy Mountains (Himalayas). Its capital city is about 20 li around. Mountains and valleys are joined together in an unbroken succession. The land yields grains and abounds with flowers and fruits. It also produces red copper, yaks 犛牛 and ming-ming birds 命命鳥 (Francolins). Copper coins are used as the medium of exchange. The climate is very cold. The people are rude and deceitful and give little regard to faith, manner and learning. They have no technique or skill... To the southeast of the capital, there is a small pond. If one flings fire into it, the water will burn immediately. Other matter then thrown in it will all be changed into flames."

It is a debatable question whether this was added later. The information may have been partly obtained from the account of Wang Hsüan-ts'e's expedition a few years afterwards. We are told in the *T'ang Shu* 唐書 that there was a tank near the 'Liquid-fire Village' (A-chi-po-ni-ch'ih, 阿耨婆多池, which literally means "Deadly Tank"). Unless above the surface of the water were constantly blanketing marsh gas there would be no meaning in this.

Of all the Indian states then existing, the most important for the pilgrim, from his standpoint as a devout Buddhist, was Magadha, the Mo-chieh-to 摩揭陀 of our author. He described this country in an unusual manner, and through his intensive survey has traced out everything in detail. Since Magadha, the scene of Buddha's early



career, possessed a greater number of holy places connected with Buddhism than any other province in India, it has been dealt with in a long and independent chapter. His emotions are also revealed in the fact that he even omitted to mention the distance from Vaisali to the capital of Magadha.

This important country, which corresponds to the present southern Bihar, had twice given or restored to India her political unity under the Maurya dynasty and under the Gupta dynasty. Hsüan Chuang, with a geographer's accuracy, has left us some information about 'South Bihar' which is still up-to-date: "The towns have few inhabitants, but the villages are thickly populated. The soil is rich and fertile and grain grows abundantly. An extraordinary species of rice is grown there, the grain of which is large and the taste exquisite. The land is low lying and moist, the villages are built on high plateau. After the first summer month and before the second month of autumn, the plains became flooded and one can go about by boat."<sup>33</sup>

The historic capital, Po-to-li-tzu 波吒釐子 (Pataliputra) near the modern town of Patna, was already in ruins. All that could be seen of its ancient palaces were the foundations. According to Hsüan Chuang's estimate, the country of Magadha was about 5,000 li in circuit, which is very close to the figure measured by Cunningham.<sup>34</sup>

On the other side of the Ni-lien-shan river 尼連禪河 was the Pro-Bodhi Mountain. He went to pay his homage to the Divine Tree underneath which the Buddha achieved his Enlightenment. "The Tree" he described, "is surrounded by piles of solid bricks. Rare trees and prized flowers make continuous shade. Fine grass and strange herbs spread out like a green carpet." He gazed on the Bodhi Tree and noted every aspect of it: "The Tree, with a yellowish white trunk, is an evergreen. Only when the Anniversary of Nirvana comes around do the leaves drop off but instantly reappear as beautiful as ever. On that day, the kings and nobles, Buddhists and laymen, from all countries, counted by tens of thousands, passed beneath the branches and sprinkled it with scented water and milk—to the accompaniment of music, flowers were strewn about and lights were kept continuously burning."

About sixty miles to the northeast of Bodhgaya lay the great monastic city, Nalanda. The congregation there had selected four monks of distinguished position to meet the pilgrim. The road, winding through a number of dissected valleys, was very difficult to travel. The party crossed a region of wild jungle and then climbed the Cock Foot Mountain which Fa Hsien called Wolf's Face Mountain. The pilgrim has left us a picturesque description of the rugged features of the northern slopes of the present Rajmahal Hill. "Lofty peaks and deep grottos are seen from afar. Rapid torrents rush down the gorges. Thick forests clothe the valleys and tangled shrubs cover the heights. These gigantic peaks projected into the air and the shapes of the imposing mass are lost in the clouds."

Hardly had they reached the city of Nalanda when the pilgrim saw a throng of about two hundred priests and a thousand lay patrons, "with banners and parasols, flowers and incense." In the midst of this great escort, he entered the town to find all the ten thousand monks of the monastery assembled to welcome him.

Hsüan Chuang describes with pleasure the appearance of the monastery. "Its towers arranged symmetrically, its forests of pavilions and harmikas and the many spires which soar up above the mist, form an imposing view.... Around the monastery, there flows a winding stream of azure water, made more beautiful by blue lotus flowers, with wide-open calyxes; within the temple, beautiful caryatids hang down their dazzling garden blossoms, and outside groves of mongro shelter the dwellings with their thick shade."<sup>33</sup> Thanks to the series of archaeological excavations, the descriptions above have been almost completely verified today.

Hsüan Chuang had at length found the omniscient master Silabhadra, then the highest authority of the Idealist school. His biographer declares that, for fifteen months, the old scholar expounded to him the texts of the Idealist doctrine. In addition, he studied the texts of Brahman philosophy and perfected himself in the reading of the Sanskrit. His life at Nalanda was truly a pleasant one. The monastery treated him with the utmost hospitality. As a special mark of esteem and in recognition of the fact that he was so far from home, the monastery appointed ten servants to serve him.

Five years had passed in Nalanda when he was obliged to tear himself away from the monastery and resume his long journey of exploration. Proceeding eastward and following the southern bank of the Ganges, our pilgrim now dropped into the tropical country of what is now Western Bengal—the ancient kingdom of Champā 瞻波. Cunningham has identified its capital with the modern Bhagalpur. Here we find Hsüan Chuang's accurate account of the tropical landscape. "The ground" the Narrative runs, "is low and damp. Crops grow vigorously and the weather is hot almost the year round.... Because of the low gradient, the channel of the Ganges becomes braided. Solitary oases and detached rocks are surrounded by waters." The Life also adds that "great mountain forests lay in the south. There are hundreds of wild elephants roaming in herds. Now and then people send an elephant-master to catch them. In these countries, they kept them for riding or drawing carriages. Wolves, rhinoceroses and black leopards are abundant, so men dare not go there."

His next passage has presented some serious difficulties to many scholars. The Narrative, which describes on a regional basis, brings the pilgrim through Eastern Bengal to Assam, while the Life, which provides the general account of the route of Hsüan Chuang's exploration, points his journey to the southeast. It is to the latter we are devoted and by following this orderly sequence we shall be able to avoid the confusion and some other difficulties on his subsequent travels.

On leaving Champā, the pilgrim seemed to have skirted the outgoing route of

Fa Hsien. He proceeded closely to the course of the Ganges and descended to its delta and finally reached the harbor of Tamralipti, which is supposed to be the modern Tamluk forty miles southwest of Calcutta. This country was then called Samatata. According to Professor Lassen, the name signifies "bas pays littoral" which accords exactly with Hsüan Chuang's description of the low and moist country of Sundarban on the seashore of the Gulf of Bengal.<sup>36</sup>

Before Hsüan Chuang lay the vast sea and he was faced with the problem of what route he should take. He must have questioned some sailors from far away countries of southeastern Asia, for he details them with great precision. "To the northeast, along the coast and amidst the mountain valleys lies the country of Srikshetra", which is actually the name of ancient Burma.<sup>37</sup> "Further to the east is the kingdom of Dvaravati." This has been identified by M. Coedes as the ancient Mon kingdom in the Thailand of today.<sup>38</sup> "Further to the east is the kingdom Isana Pura," which corresponds to the present Cambodia. "Still further to the east is the kingdom of Maha Champa. Actually it is the so-called Lin-i 林邑, (the present-day Annam). "Next to the southwest is the country of Yen-mo-na-chou" 閩摩那洲, which has not yet been identified. "These six countries" said the pilgrim are so hemmed in by mountains and rivers that they are practically inaccessible, but their limits and customs could be learned by inquiry."

But what attracted Hsüan Chuang most was the island of Ceylon. His biographer tells us that at the harbor of Tamluk the young man heard that across the sea there was a country called Simhala, and that after a voyage of 700 *yojanas* it was possible to reach it. On hearing this he inquired of a priest from South India who dissuaded him but from whom he obtained some first hand information. "Those who go to Simhala" said this southerner "had better not take the sea route on which you will encounter the dangers of bad weather, the devils and the rolling waves. I would like to suggest you go by land to the southeast point of India whence you could cross the sea to Ceylon in three days. It would be a long and tedious journey but it is safer."

Hsüan Chuang immediately set out in a southwesterly direction, passing through Orissa (Udra) and presumably following closely the route of the modern coastal railway. At the town of Che-li-ta-lo 折利坦羅 then a great seaport, the pilgrim met many traders from different countries.<sup>39</sup> He checked again the distance from there to Ceylon. It was still 20,000 *li* away.

But the further he traveled the more information about Ceylon he acquired. On the shore of the sea his thoughts began to wander in the warm tropical night and over the expanse of waters beyond the liquid horizon. "Every night" he wrote, "when the sky is clear and cloudless, from the precious diamond placed above the Stupa of the Tooth of Buddha, dazzling light can be seen from afar which in its radiance resembles a shining star hanging in the midst of space."

He passed on through the narrow strip of the coastal plain where the East Ghats draw close to the Chilka Lake. After crossing a vast forest, he arrived at the country of Kalinga which in his geographic concept was already within the realm of Southern India. Since there is no notation about the big river Godavari, it is safe to assume that the territory of Kalinga did not extend beyond that river. After mentioning the regular harvest season, luxuriant vegetation, and the burning heat, he pointed out that this area had once been very heavily populated, but that a wicked demon had been offended, become angry and called down ruin and destruction upon the kingdom. Whereon the population young and old all perished. At the time of Hsüan Chuang's visit, most of the inhabitants were seemingly composed of aboriginal tribes.

On leaving Kalinga, Hsüan Chuang undertook an exploration of the heart of the Deccan peninsula. He went northwest by hills and woods for about 1,800 *li* and reached the country of Kosala. (The *Life* named it Southern Kosala). The bearing and distance given take us to the ancient province of Berar of which the present capital is Nagpur. "The country is more than 6,000 *li* in circuit, is surrounded by mountains and hills and is a succession of woods and prairies. Its capital is about 40 *li* in circumference. The soil of the land is very rich and fertile, the towns and villages are close together and inhabited by people of dark skin, tall figure and harsh violent ways, who are brave and impulsive by nature."

Crossing another vast forest watered by the river system of Godavari, the pilgrim reached the ancient kingdom of Andhra, which corresponds more or less to the modern state of Hyderabad between the rivers of Godavari and Kistna. Of this he writes, "The soil of the land is exceedingly fertile. With a warm climate, the country produces abundant cereals. The capital is named Ping-chi-lo 瓶耆羅. Southwest of the city there is an isolated hill." The most logical place would be the present town of Warangal. After another journey of a thousand *li* due south the pilgrim reached the country of Te-na-chieh-che-chia 駄那羯磔迦, the location of which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. His brief account of travel to the capital would take us somewhere in the central valley of the Kistna—probably the modern town of Kurnol. As the pilgrim remarked, "The capital city is about 40 *li* in circuit. . . . There is much wasteland in this region and towns are few. On both the east and the west side the capital is bounded by mountains. On the tops of these mountains there are two stupas built by a former king. In honoring the Buddha, he had hollowed out a valley, made a path by the river and opened the mountain crags which are the effect of a corridor surrounded by rocky heights."

The pilgrim then went southwest through a wild and deserted country of marshes and jungles, watered by the Kistna, turned south again by the basin of the Pennan and arrived at Chien-chi-pu-lo 建志補羅 (Conjiveram), the capital of Ta-lo-pi-to 達羅毗荼 (Dravida).

It was a very rich tropical country. The *Life* has a few remarks about the capital which are worth quoting. "The city is situated on the mouth (bay) of the southern

sea of India and looking toward the kingdom of Simhala (Ceylon) at a distance of three days voyage."

Hsüan Chuang was, of course, very anxious to visit Ceylon. But, to his great disappointment, the island was in turmoil and disorder. The king of Ceylon had just died and the whole country was involved in civil war and suffering from famine. He saw several hundreds of Singhalese monks coming to India arrived at Conjiveram. Through inquiry, the men advised him to abandon the journey.

Hsüan Chuang therefore gave up his visit to Ceylon. His immediate plan then was to travel around the lower peninsula. At Conjiveram, the pilgrim heard of another country called Mo-lo-chü-ta 秣羅矩吒 further down to the southwest which also bordered the sea coast. His notes on it are as accurate as if he had been there. Mo-lo-chü-ta is actually the coastal plain of the Tamil country. "The soil of this land is of an alkaline type and is of little use for agriculture. But due to its geographical location, a great variety of sea products are collected here and thus enrich the country. The weather is unbearably hot." This may suggest that as early as the time of Hsüan Chuang, the trade in sea-products or even the spice-trade had already existed here.

His description of the southern tip of the peninsula is also remarkable in its accuracy. "Facing the sea coast is the mountain of Malya, impressive for its high peaks and precipices, its valleys and torrents. Here is found the white sandal-wood, camphor and trees of many other varieties."

Although the pilgrim, on account of the political disturbances, had not been able to visit Ceylon himself, he related in detail all that he had heard from the monks whom he met at Conjiveram.

He states that Ceylon was originally called Pao-tu 寶渚 or Treasure Island, having a variety of rare gems. In the seventh century, Ceylon was known by the name of Simhala (Sheng-kia-lo 僧伽羅) which was said to be derived from the lion-descended Simhala of legend. For a number of years, the country had been suffering from political upheavals.

By the side of the king's palace was the shrine of Buddha's Tooth several hundred feet high. It was decorated with every kind of precious jewels. On the top of it was erected a signal tower which is surmounted by a large ruby. Its brilliant lights shone day and night and on a clear and cloudless night, it could be seen 10,000 li.

As to the richness of the island, our author continues, "The soil is exceedingly fertile. The climate is warm and agreeable all the year round. Crops ripen at regular seasons and flowers and fruits grow in abundance. Though the island is densely populated, the people in general are wealthy. One of the major sources of income seems to be the collecting of pearls and jewels along the coast."

After the account of Ceylon, Hsüan Chuang also gives some fragmentary information about some islands far out in the vast sea. "Several thousand li south on



the sea, lie the islands of Na-lo-chi-lo 那羅稽羅洲. The islanders are of small stature about three feet tall. They have grain-food to eat but live only on cocoa-nuts." If this statement is trustworthy, it would be most likely to bring us to the Maldive Islands.<sup>40</sup> For many centuries, it had been known to the Arab navigators: "These islands support a numerous population. Both men and women come out in boats and barter cocoa-nuts for iron."<sup>41</sup>

The pilgrim also mentioned a solitary island 孤島 and "The Great Precious-substance Islands," 大寶洲 another several thousand li out in the west sea. His description of these islands is very vague and smacks of fairy-tales. He evidently derived all his information about them from books and stories or through hearsay.

Returning to Hsüan Chuang's travels we find that from Conjiveram, he went northwest through a land of jungles, teeming with wild beasts and murderous highwaymen. There seemed nothing noteworthy until he reached the kingdom of Ma-ha-la-ta 摩訶刺怛, the present Maharatta country.

This region formed at that time the empire of the Calukyas, who had played a role of the greatest importance in the Indian history of this period. The people of this country were notorious for their war-like character. As Hsüan Chuang puts it, "They are tall, stern and vindictive. To their benefactors, they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will fly to assist. When they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemies warning, then take their lance in hand, and attack. If a general loses a battle, they inflict no harm on him but merely wrap him up in women's garments. Under such circumstances, he is often driven to seek death himself to escape dishonor." In short, it was a nation subject to severe militarism. The king, possessing such men and fierce elephants as well, treated the neighboring countries with contempt. Harsha, the overlord of many countries in the Indo-Gangetic depression, had had no effect on him. "At the present time," writes the pilgrim, "the Emperor Harsha has conquered many countries from east to west and penetrated to remote districts; the men of this country are the only ones who have not submitted. Several times he gathered troops from the Five Indies, selected the best commanders and put himself at the head of the army; but he has never been able to break down their resistance."

After leaving Maharatta, he stopped some days at Bharoch on the mouth of the Nai-mo-to Ho 耐秣陀河, the present Narbada River.<sup>42</sup> "The soil is impregnated with salt, and vegetation is very sparse. The people boil the sea water to get the salt and their entire livelihood relies upon the sea. Since life is so hard, the people are therefore cold, mean and deceitful." It is possible that Hsüan Chuang reached the west coast right in the monsoon season of 641. The weather was very hot and sticky and whirling winds often burst out suddenly.

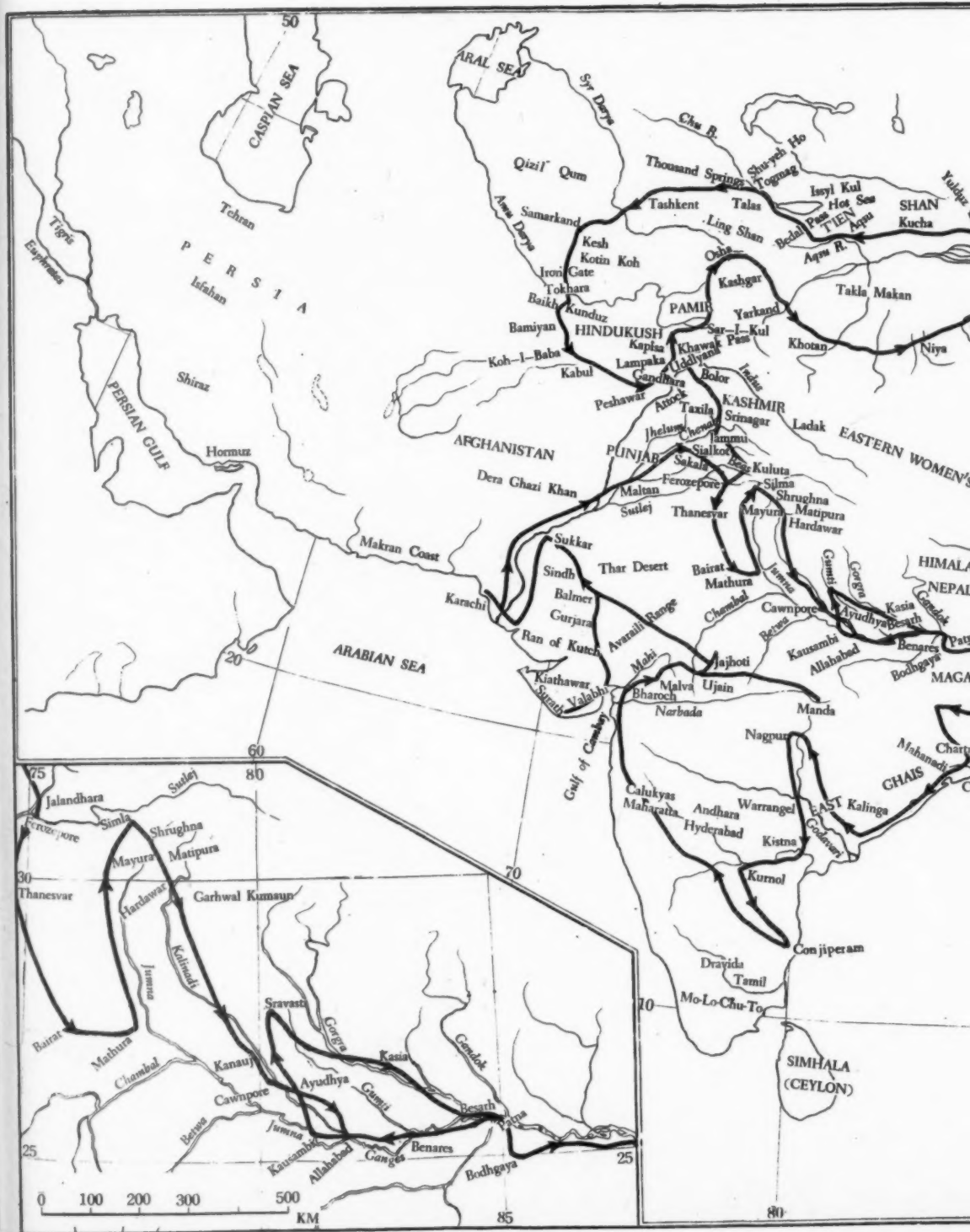
We are not surprised to see our pilgrim here taking a different route and heading northeast. He wanted to visit Mo-la-po 摩臘婆, Malva, one of the most cultured and civilized countries in India.<sup>43</sup> Hsüan Chuang justly compares it with Magadha. "There are two kingdoms which have the renown of loving the arts and literature, virtue and courtesy—Magadha in the northeast and Malva in the southwest." Well watered by the Mahi river and other streams, the country not only had a flourishing agricultural economy but also traded with the outside world through the Gulf of Cambay.

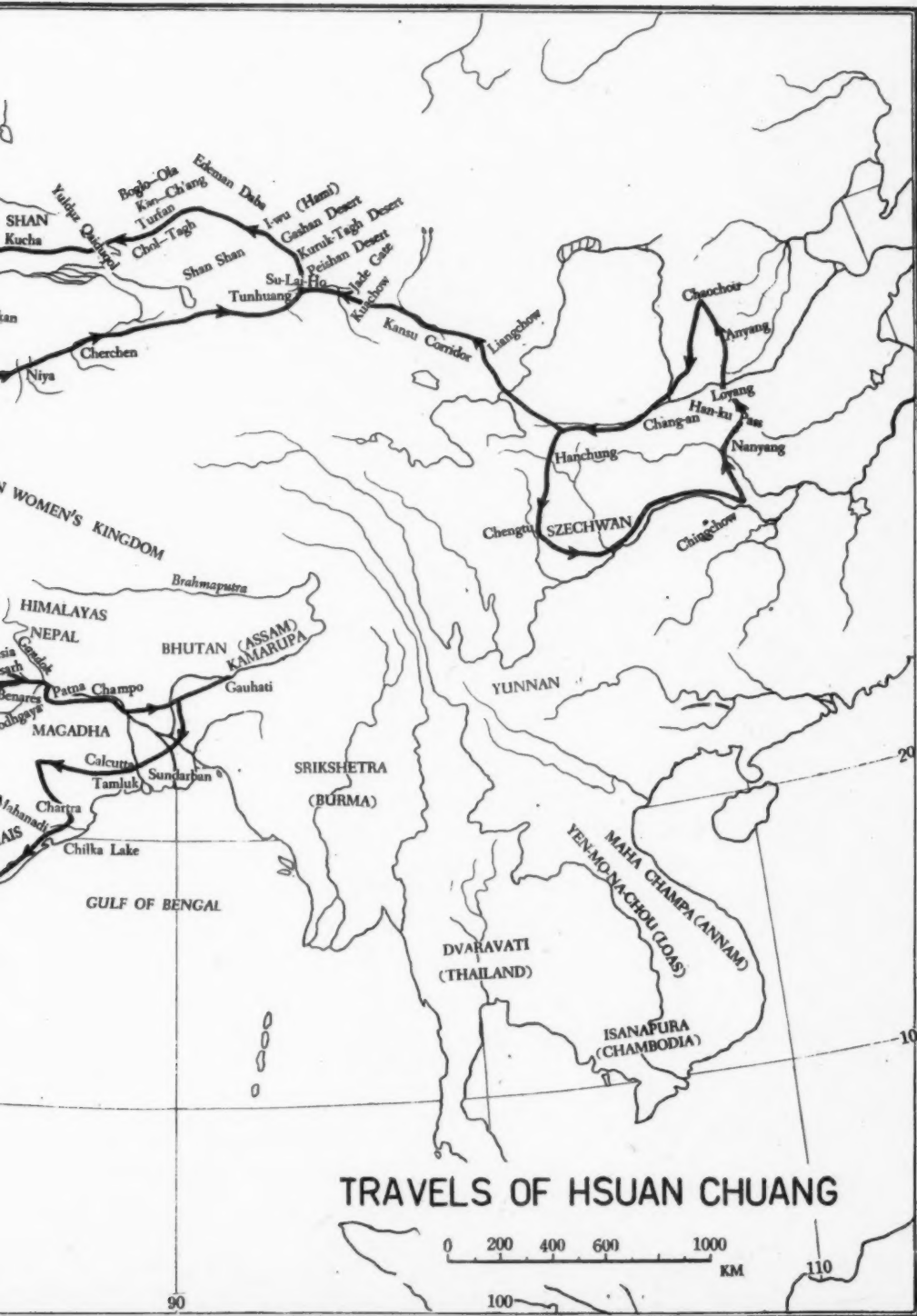
On the west Malva touched the kingdom of Valabhi which dominated practically the whole Kathiawar peninsula except on the southwestern coast. The country lived then on maritime trade from the Persian Gulf. "One sees in this kingdom," said Hsüan Chuang, "piles of precious merchandise from foreign lands. There are more than a hundred millionaires on this single peninsula."

From the maritime province, Hsüan Chuang was able to gather some information about Persia and even the countries far beyond. He points out the importance of the Kanat irrigation system for the life of this dry plateau. Those who have followed the old Persian track from Tehran to Isfahan and Shiraz and have seen the sub-terrain canals, will be struck by the truth of his remarks. He also notes the high quality of the Iranian horse and camels, the beauty of silver coins and the excellent texture of the Persian fabrics. But due to the inadequate information, the pilgrim only mentioned two important cities, Su-la-sa-t'ang-na 蘇刺薩儻那 the capital city,<sup>44</sup> and Ho-mo 鶴秣 (Hormuz), the great sea port. Northwest of Persia lay the kingdom of Fu-lin 拂憐 which was actually the Byzantine Empire. Further beyond, the information he gathered is entirely fable and legend. "Southwest of Fu-lin, on an island of the sea, is the Kingdom of Western Women 西女國. The inhabitants are all females who possess a large quantity of jewels and precious merchandise. They pay some of these as tribute to the emperor of Fu-lin who, in return, sends some men to live with them for a time. Male babies are not allowed to be brought up." What a coincidence when we read the travels of Marco Polo who has given us a similar account about the two islands, Male and Female, lying thirty miles apart.<sup>45</sup>

On leaving the Kathiawar peninsula, the pilgrim skirted the northeastern margin of the Ran of Kutch and followed the desert trail to Balmer then the capital of Gurjara. The route he was taking seems to indicate that his original intent was to cross the Thar Desert and head for the middle valley of the Indus, but he made a change in his plans. Instead of going any further towards the northwest, he went in the opposite direction to explore the northern Deccan, the geometric heartland of India with which he had so far been only slightly familiar. He crossed the Aravalli Range, traveling south-eastward to Ujain, a fairly rich country watered by the upper Chambal river. Next we hear of him at Che-chi-to 柁呾陀 (Jajhoti) on the Betwa river.<sup>46</sup>











There is a great deal of confusion about his farthest reach in this heartland. The Narrative carries the pilgrim further to the northeast, while Cunningham in a long series of arguments brings him to Manda on the head waters of the Narbada river. The account in the Life which is contradictory to the Narrative convinces me that the modern scholar may be correct.<sup>47</sup>

After Hsüan Chuang leaves the Northern Deccan plateau our two sources differ as nowhere else in the whole journey. The Narrative tells that Hsüan Chuang first returned to Gurjara, thereafter crossed the Thar Desert in a northwesterly direction and subsequently reached the Indus somewhere near the present Sukkar Dam. After that he went to Punjab then returned to the Lower Indus. The Life, however, keeps more logically in an orderly sequence, which relates that from Mahesvarapura he first returned to Surath, the southwestern part of the Kathiawar peninsula, whereby proceeding westward he reached the country of A-tien-p'o-ch'ih-lo 阿點婆翅羅, an uninhabitable land of wild marshes. "Here" as he describes, "the ground is low and damp and the soil is predominantly alkaline. Crops which can hardly take root here, all give place to clusters of shrubs and tangles of weeds. The weather is rather cold and the winds severe." These remarks are a very good indication of the Kutch swamp land.

Further west was the country of Lang-chieh-lo 狼揭羅 (Langalo) which seems to carry us a little beyond the modern metropolis Karachi. The conditions there were more favorable. The pilgrim described the people as wealthy and numerous, being on the sea shore and accessible to the "Islands of Western Women." This raises serious doubt as to whether he really visited the eastern Makran coast.<sup>48</sup>

On leaving the Indus delta region, the pilgrim followed closely the course of the river. After passing through the country of Shin-to 信度 (Sindh) he probably marched all the way north along the west bank of the river, until he crossed it somewhere near the present town of Dera Ghazi Khan, where he turned directly eastward towards Maltan.

Maltan, watered by the lower Chenab, has all the features which a doab-country possesses. On this good farming land civilization had existed for many centuries. The flowery woods, the tanks and ponds, the tastefully arranged tiles, all these could not but inspire the pilgrim's feeling of great admiration.

Having accomplished his exploration of the Indus valley, Hsüan Chuang, according to the Life, returned toward Magadha and made a second stay at Nalanda. This time, we learn from his biographer, our pilgrim entered into all kinds of activities. Not only did he listen with others to every discussion, but also took part in hot debates himself. Mahayanist thinkers there were divided into two groups; the Mythical School and the School of Absolutism. These divergent opinions went bitterly against each other, though certainly these two systems were issue of the same principles. Hsüan Chuang, in order to reconcile the two doctrines, composed a treatise called "Huei-tsung-lun" 慧  
宗論

總論 or the "Principles of Harmony" which was received with honor by the Buddhist masters at Nalanda.

By the time Hsüan Chuang began thinking about his plans for the return journey, the monks of Nalanda considered him so much as one of themselves that they wanted to dissuade him from returning to China. "India" they said, "has been the birthplace of the Buddha. Though he has left the earth, His traces still remain here. To visit them one after another, to adore them, and to sing His glories is the way to enrich your life with happiness. How could you come here to leave us all of a sudden? Besides, China is a land of barbarians. That is why the Buddha did not choose to be born there." This really led Hsüan Chuang to an outburst. In reply, he protested with justice: "When the Buddha set forth His teaching, He certainly desired his Law to be spread everywhere. Anyone who has been fortunate enough to learn something about it is under the obligation to pass on his knowledge to the less fortunate. Moreover, China is not at all a barbarian country. In China, humanity and justice are respected everywhere. Old men and sages are given the first place. Our Emperor is a great man to whom his subjects are devoted. In family life, fathers are kind to sons and sons obedient to them. That is not all. In science, astronomy has been much developed. There are water-clocks to "divide the hours", and models to calculate the movement of the Five Heavenly Bodies. The people have invented all kinds of instruments. That is why they have been able to command over creatures of every kind, to counteract *Yin* and *Yang* and to procure peace and happiness. It is not, may we say, a right attitude to claim that because the Buddha never went there it must be a miserable place. Why does the sun go round the world? To dissipate darkness. And it is just for the same reason that I now think of going back to China."

Meanwhile, Hsüan Chuang's success in philosophic and religious controversies had attracted the attention of many people. His name had undoubtedly reached men on the higher level and soon he was chosen by Silabhara, his master, to represent the monastery in a debate with Hinayanists at King Harsha's capital, Kanauj.

Shortly after Hsüan Chuang had finished his packing, a letter arrived from the king of Kamarupa (Assam) asking him to come and spend a few days at his court before returning to China. The king of Assam, as the Narrative illustrated, was a highly cultured ruler. Though a Hindu himself, he would never have ceased to regret it if he had allowed a scholar of Hsüan Chuang's calibre to depart the country without having a talk with him.

The messenger, according to the Life, carried the pilgrim off to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra, some 600 miles northeast of Nalanda, then the capital of Assam.

Here we should go back to the early description in the Narrative. The route it indicates just fits the general direction which was accounted before. After crossing the Ganges, he traveled through the country of Pen-na-fa-tan-na 奔那伐彈那 (Pundra-

vardhana), the present Pabna. Further on, he crossed another big river, which was obviously the Brahmaputra, and after traveling 900 *li* to the east he entered the country of Chia-mo-lu-po 迦摩縷波 (Kamarupa) which is the Sanskrit name of Assam.<sup>49</sup> The territory was estimated at ten thousand *li* in circuit. The large area shows that it must have comprised the whole valley of the Brahmaputra or modern Assam. His description is, however, more or less confined to the western Assam. "It is an exceedingly humid country. Crops ripen in regular seasons. Water led from rivers and reservoirs flows around the town." The people he described were not Assamese but seem to have been a different stock which resemble those who came down from the mountainous region of Bhutan, or at least a mixed racial group. "Those with a dark skin are of small stature and of a hard, cruel disposition. Their language differs but slightly from that of Central India."

At the northeastern corner of India, our pilgrim may have called up the story of Chang Ch'ien who had once dreamt about opening a route to India from Szechwan and Yunnan. "To the east" he relates, "the country is bounded by chains of mountains and hills. So there are no principal cities. Its eastern frontiers are contiguous to the Southwest Barbarians (of China); hence the inhabitants are skin to the Man 蠻 and Liao 獠. On inquiry, I have learned from the natives that it takes about two months' journey to reach the southwestern borders of Szechwan. But the mountains and rivers present obstacles. Besides, there are pestilential vapors and poisonous snakes and herbs constituting serious danger."

Hsüan Chuang was very well treated by Kamaru, the beloved king of Assam. Often the two went out together and a warm friendship began to grow between them.

While the two friends were enjoying each other's company, King Harsha, the overlord of the whole Indo-Gangetic depression, had returned to Kanauj from an expedition against Kongoda, a coastal region about 200 miles southwest of Calcutta. On hearing that Hsüan Chuang had been got hold of by his vassal, the monarch became very angry and sent out a messenger to Assam. He bade the king of Assam send Hsüan Chuang to him at once.

On his arrival Hsüan Chuang and King Harsha began to converse. The monarch had some vague ideas about the Great T'ang Empire. By some chance their conversation turned to the subject of the Chinese Emperor, T'ai-tsung. "I have heard" said King Harsha, "that there is, in Maha-China, a prince called Ch'in Wang 秦王 (or the Prince of Ch'in) whose fame is celebrated in the song of 'The Triumph of Ch'in Wang' 秦王破陣樂. Is the song somewhat related with Great T'ang?" In reply, the Master of Law, as we may now call Hsüan Chuang, began to make use of his magnificent eloquence. "That is right, your Majesty," said the Master, "The Prince of Ch'in is the same man who is now the Great Emperor (T'ai-tsung). Before he succeeded the throne, he was invested as the Prince of Ch'in. In those days, heaven and earth were

profoundly agitated, the people had no longer any ruler and the whole country was involved in war and disorder. The fields were strewn with corpses and the rivers ran with blood. During the night the stars shed a sinister light. When vapors rose with the day, the Three Rivers were ravaged by various boars and the Four Seas were infested by venomous snakes. Then the Imperial Prince carried the orders of Heaven. Filled with noble ardour, he built up his invincible strength and put down every source of trouble and restored peace to the world. Since then the seas have calmed down. The sun and moon and stars shone out again. Because of our gratitude for his care, we sing his praises."

The religious conference was convoked at Harsha's capital, so the monarch and the Master went up the Ganges and to Kanauj. It was the first day of 643 A.D.

The assembly was of unusual magnitude. There were kings of eighteen countries and several thousand eminent priests who were thoroughly familiar with the Great and Little Vehicles. Besides, a large number of deputies representing the Brahmans and the Jains also took seats in the conference. The debate went on like a hot battle. Despite the overwhelming odds, the young faithful, under the cross-fire of his opponents, was quite able to defend Mahayanism without encountering any set-back.

The Master of Law was now longing to get started on his journey home. Harsha was in favor of his going back by sea and offered to have him escorted by his official envoys. But Hsüan Chuang insisted on returning by land, explaining that the King of Turfan had been of great material assistance to him and that he had promised to visit Turfan on his way back.

It was undoubtedly a great sorrow to Hsüan Chuang that the King of Turfan had died (640 A.D.), and Hsüan Chuang on his return from India to China found that the kingdom had ceased to exist.

After a tearful parting, the Master of Law, gave his books and images to the cavalry escort of a king of North India called the Udhita. King Harsha gave Hsüan Chuang an excellent elephant to ride on, three thousand pieces of gold and ten thousand pieces of silver—for defraying the Master's expenses on the road—and, finally, a sealed letter which commanded that rulers of all countries within his sphere of influence should provide him with escort in relay.

The Master of Law proceeded on a northwestern route. At Jalandhara in the Punjab, he parted with Udhita with whom he had been traveling. Passing through the mountain defiles on the way to Taxila, he came to a spot famous for its brigands. Hsüan Chuang gave instructions to one of the monks to go forth and say to the brigands: "We have come from a far country to seek the Law. Our luggage consists of nothing but scriptures, images and relics. We need your protection to protect us." This seemed always to work.



At the beginning of the year 644, the Master of Law reached the Indus river at a point where it was about five or six *li* wide and apparently very shallow. One of his men on the ferry was asked to keep an eye on the books and also on a package of flower-seeds which were unknown to China. The Master waded the stream on his big elephant.

When they were about half-way across, a torrential storm suddenly came upon them. The boat was violently tossed about and almost sank. When it was recovered, fifty sutras and the flower-seeds had been washed away and lost.

The king of Kapisa, on hearing the approach of the Master, went to the river-side to meet him. They went together to Uddiyana where the king managed to have the lost books copied for Hsüan Chuang. The king of Kashmir had invited the Master for a second visit, but because of the heavy load of luggages, the slow pace of the elephant, and the difficult terrain, Hsüan Chuang was unable to make it. The king, having received his letter of apology, went to Uddiyana to bid the Master farewell. The king of Kapisa then escorted the Master of Law as far as the foot of the Hindu Kush.

The crossing of the Hindu Kush had been well planned by the king of Kapisa who sent forth a hundred of his men to take care of the Master. This was in the summer of 644, but the journey was nevertheless very difficult. It took seven days for them to reach the top of the range which presented a mass of terrifying peaks, rising here, there and everywhere. From this point, they were unable to ride on horse-back but walked with the support of their staffs.

They plodded on, following the glacial streams. The biographer tells us, "If travelers did not follow the steps of their guide, there was great danger of falling and perishing." They went thus from dawn till sunset to cross these ice-clad precipices. At this time, there remained only seven monks, twenty servants, one elephant, ten asses and four horses.

The next day, they arrived at the bottom of the mountain pass of Varasena. (The whole description seems to indicate that the Varasena pass may well be the same as Khawak pass described by Wood, who found it to be 13,200 feet in elevation).<sup>90</sup> After that they followed a tortuous path which ultimately led to the summit. The summit at a distance seemed to be all covered with snow, but when they reached the top they found that it only consisted of white stone. "There was no vegetation of any kind," writes the biographer, "only clusters of sharp peaks sticking up like bamboo shoots. So high is the mountain and so strong the wind that even birds cannot fly over it."

Coming down from the Hindu Kush, they again entered territory of Tokhara. From Kunduz, the Master turned to the east, moving along a chain of mountain valleys which lay south of the upper Oxus.

Traveling on the highlands of the Pamir Knot, the Master related the origin of the name Ts'ung-ung and defined its geographic meaning. "On the south it connects with the Great Snow Mountain (Hindu Kush), on the north it reaches the Hot Sea (the Issyl Kul) and the Thousand Springs, on the west to the state of Hwoh 活國 (Kunduz) and on the east to U-sha 烏沙 (Ocha). From east to west and from north to south, they run equally for several thousand li and abound in hundreds of sharp peaks and inaccessible gorges. Here frozen snow is perpetually accumulated and cold winds blow fiercely. This region, however, produces a large quantity of ts'ung 蔥 (green onions) and hence the name. But according to another opinion, the name is derived from the green-onion hue of the cliffs."

The Master journeyed from one state to another through the Tokhara territory and then reached the alpine valley of the Pamir river. Some modern explorers tell that 'Pamir' is a Turki word signifying 'desert'<sup>51</sup> This was exactly what the Master had described. "The valley seemed to be choked off by two gigantic snowy mountains. It extends 1,000 li from east to west but only 100 li wide and the narrowest part no more than 10 li in breadth. Snow falls all the year round accompanied by furious winds. The soil is full of salt and covered with numerous patches of sand and gravel. There is no tree of any kind, and even shrubs are far apart. As far as the eye can encompass, there is nothing to be seen but uninhabitable waste."

Our Master now climbed the 'middle of the Jambudvipa', or to use our modern language, 'the Roof of the World'. He specifically indicated that Ts'ungling (Pamir) is the great dividing height. The Dragon Lake (the present Sar-i Kul) which is situated right in the middle of the plateau serves as the source of the watershed. "All waters, west of the lake, join the Oxus (Fu-tso Ho 縛菟河) and flow westward; while those to the east of it, all flow eastward and join the Tarim (Hsi-to Ho 徙多河) at Chieh-sha 佉沙 (Kashgar).

Further on, the Master traversed a number of small states in this alpine region. Now and then he found open valleys with trees and fruits, but soon the barren began once more. These contrasts are apparently due to peculiarities of location, with reference to topographical features and sunlight.

The Master was probably following the same route as the modern mountain track which passes the post of Tash-Kurghan and then follows the Gez river, a tributary of the Kashgar river to Kashgar.

Leaving Kashgar, the Master took the old Southern Route which extends in a semi-circle surrounding the Takla-Makan Desert. On the way he visited Yarkand, Khotan, Niya, Cherchen and subsequently reached the first Chinese outpost, Tunhuang. As we may recall, two and a half centuries before this time, Fa Hsien had traveled the same route on his way to India. Time changes geography. Some countries became more prosperous than in Fa Hsien's time. The state of Khotan, for instance, besides retaining its oasis agriculture, had added to its wealth by the manufacture of

woolen carpets, fine felts and taffetas. Mulberry trees were under plantation which led to its own silk-trade with the Byzantine Empire. The Master even praised the urbanity of the Khotanese. Others which had not been favored by nature had been completely ruined by time and weather. The longitudinal valley of Niya had been turned to marsh by the drying-up of the river. The city of Niya had to be abandoned. Still less fortunate was the kingdom of Shan-shan. The country, like the ancient Roman city of Pompeii, which had once been well populated was not completely buried under heavy sand.

At Tunhuang, the Master had his first relaxation. However, it is not hard to imagine that he must have been in a very complicated state of mind. Sixteen years had gone by since an illegal traveler escaped from Ch'ang-an and an obscure monk crossed the frontier by night. Now he had returned, covered with glory, after a long and marvelous voyage, who had won the friendship of a great number of foreign rulers. What would the government do to him? He could not help pondering with anxiety as well as with pride. He sent out a letter to the Emperor T'ai-tsung and waited for a favorable reply.

The Emperor, on hearing about his return, ordered his top aide, Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 to arrange a great reception for Hsüan Chuang. News of the Master's arrival had spread all over the country. The great adventurer who had crossed the Gobi, T'ien Shan, the Indus, the Ganges, the hot jungle of Deccan and the perpetually ice-clad Pamir, was to be the hero of the hour in this China of the Great T'ang.

What makes the name of Hsüan Chuang so great? A name which through the change of dynasties and the succession of generations still remains in the memory of millions of people? To answer this, we have to fall back and review everything which had contributed to his life and his work. In one sense, we may say that the great success of his travels was a joint effort. Credit should also be given to those kings, great or small, who poured out their riches so generously and the great masters who, with the idea of brotherhood, had treated Hsüan Chuang like one of themselves. Their encouragement and inspiration are by no means negligible. There were also many others who helped him in carrying loads of luggage, did all kinds of services, and escorted him through the tropical jungles swarming with beasts and brigands and over the glaciated precipices where 'temperature' is without a positive meaning. Some of them fulfilled their assignments, and left unknown. Others died working but without a name. Yet, when we take the large view, the central figure which made the whole undertaking a genuine and successful one, was ultimately the pilgrim. A number of great explorers, whom we so frequently admire stand out as immortal. Some acquired their fame owing to their outstanding courage. Many missionaries have left us a glorious page in history because of their deep faith in a Holy One. Some 'scientific' explorers have succeeded in opening up the vast unknown mainly by their love of knowledge. There are even travelers who successively broke records for long distances, because they were born to travel. These qualities, when we are going to judge the

Master of Law, are all present in him. As Professor Grousset puts it, "What makes Hsüan Chuang so living and so true, and explains the fact that one cannot read him without loving him, is the combination in this powerful metaphysician of a tender piety with the deepest speculative tendencies." <sup>52</sup>

It is a well acknowledged fact that the Master has been one of the greatest religious men who ever lived. He is generally credited with the enhancement of Buddhist philosophy in China, the unification of the different Sects of his time and thereby enlarging the realm of the Buddhist world as a whole.

A great many people, however, fail to realize that Hsüan Chuang, as a great traveler, has contributed equally much to enlarging the Chinese geographical horizon. Since his great exploration, a complete, accurate and detailed account of the entire Indian sub-continent has been added to the geographical knowledge of the Chinese people.

From the history of Chinese Geography, it can be seen, that the book *Ta-T'ang-Si-Yü-Chi* or the "Records of the Western Territories of the Great T'ang," has marked a new era. From that time on, geography was no longer a subordinate field of history, or an isolated field of art for the telling of strange stories or identifying the names of countless river sources. Instead, geography developed to a stage where the study of regional geography gained its earliest shape.

This may well be illustrated by going back to early history. When Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote his knowledge of foreign countries, he relegated them to the position of *chuan* 傳 or historical accounts. His interest was largely confined to their history rather than their geographical environment. Pan Ku followed this tradition without much change. The *Water-Classic* is a systematic study of the drainage pattern of China and some countries outside of China, but its geographical value was greatly enhanced after a complete annotation for it was written by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元 in 527 A.D. During the Period of Uncertainty, geographical information was scattered through some of the official history of the several dynasties. After the *Ta-T'ang-Si-Yü-Chi* had been written, geography became a rich and specialized field of study.

Closely related to the historical significance of Hsüan Chuang's book is the areal coverage of his travel. He spent seventeen years (629-645 A.D.) outside of China, of which more than half of his time was spent on the road. The total distance of his travels, not counting the short detours and excursions, amounts to nearly 120,000 *li* or 40,000 miles. By the middle of the seventh century, that is to say, six hundred years or more prior to the time of Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, Hsüan Chuang stood out as the greatest land traveler of his time; and even during the centuries that followed, he had no peer.

Furthermore, the significance of Hsüan Chuang's exploration should not be judged merely by the distance of his travel. What we are more concerned with is the

geographical knowledge he contributed. We must not forget that Hsüan Chuang was more a geographer than a traveler. This is of great importance. The records of the Venetian traveler and the Arabian adventurer are fragmentary descriptions, or at best, overall accounts of places visited. As the centuries have passed by, their geographical value has decreased in large measure. The greatness of the two travelers, which we so frequently admire, is to a large extent due to the fact that one was the 'first' man to have been able to write so much about the 'Land of Cathay' and the other had traveled the 'longest' distance ever recorded in history before the development of modern transportation. Hsüan Chuang accomplished something more beyond this in that he offered a new approach to the study of geography. He was successful in bringing out some of the most significant points which geographers should not overlook. Very often he laid emphasis on some of the important historic events concerning an area before he went into any detail in describing a particular kingdom or state, and thus he helped us to comprehend how the rise and fall of an empire, a civilization or any prominent religion imposed certain changes on the social and economic life of a great number of people.

Foreign invasions had caused Indian history to be partly lost. Thanks to the work of the Master, a great deal of valuable information concerning contemporary Indian history and culture were rediscovered.

Another essential point which he frequently discussed was the function of communication. That some countries, according to the Master, are wealthier, more prosperous and cultured than their neighbors is by no means accidental. Certain advantages in geographical location often gave rise to their ascendancy over others. Samarkand, for instance, situated in a dominating position on the trans-continental caravan route and protected on the north by the Qizil Qum Desert and on the south by the Iron Gate, naturally led the surrounding countries socially and politically as well as economically. Hsüan Chuang's remarks on the state of Thanesvar may serve as another good example. Its commanding position on the passage of the 'hour glass' region had a great effect on the economic life of its inhabitants. A great majority of them were devoted to trading, few were engaged in farming, despite the fact that fertile lands were available. On the other hand, a country, like Mo-lo-chü-ta 秣羅矩吒, though poor in arable land, could also become a very rich country by holding a favorable location on the sea route of international trade.

In the absence of these outside influences, the status of a country, as the Master frequently illustrated, will be restricted to its local environments, such as climate, the soil condition, and its natural products. These factors together with those indicated above determine the livelihood of the people in general.

Closely related to this new approach is the vigilance of our author to which the everlasting value of his records is also attributable. On many occasions we find that he was extraordinarily cautious even in translating a place name. The name that



he gave for the whole India may serve as one of the best examples. "Many names in (Chinese) translation have been given for this country," said Hsüan Chuang, "Formerly it was called Shên-tu 身毒 or Hsien-tou 賢豆. To make it phonetically correct and logically sound, we should from now on call it In-tu 印度, which connotes the moon that shines in the long and dark night, which like the great sages—produced in this country one after another—guided the masses in the right direction." This name has been unanimously used by the Chinese up to the present time.

Moreover, the delicacy of his writing, (although it had been refined by his editor, Pien-chi 辯機, the whole work was probably first skillfully organized by the Master), and the accuracy of his account, which has even struck many modern scholars, established a new tradition which made geographical writing gradually leave the realm of fables and legends and become mature. In the whole narration we find fable and legend reduced to the minimum, consisting of only two mythical kingdoms; the Eastern Women in western Tibet, and the Island of the Western Women, far to the southwest of the Byzantine Empire, plus a few dragons in the mountains and some bird-beaked men. The only legend is found in the Indian's interpretation of the major river sources, that is to say: "from the mouth of a Silver Ox flows the Ganges; from the mouth of a Gold Elephant, the Indus; from the mouth of a lapislazuli Horse the Oxus; and from the mouth of a Crystal Lion, the Tarim."

It is interesting to note that, up to the time of Hsüan Chuang, the traditional concept of the source of the Yellow River still existed. To quote a few words of his will make it understandable: "The Hsi-to Ho 徙多河 (Tarim) has a subterranean course for a distance and where it emerges at the Chi-shih Shan 積石山 it is the source of the Yellow River."

Although Hsüan Chuang's adventure was motivated only by his religious belief, his influence was so great that it soon led to a series of events in other fields. In 641 A.D., four years before the Master's return, T'ai-tsung sent a mission, composed of Li I-piao 李義表 and Wang Hsüan-ts'e 王玄策 to India. In 647 A.D. Wang Hsüan-ts'e was sent on a second mission.<sup>53</sup> The two envoys who took advantage of the fact that the Indian monarch prized Chinese friendship, were warmly welcomed everywhere. It seemed that there was no end to the entertainment India could afford them. On their mission Li I-piao and Wang Hsüan-ts'e were said to have both visited the Himalayan state of Nepal. In 647 A.D., the King of Nepal sent his envoy to China. The establishment of Sino-Nepalese relations had a great influence on Indian history during this period.

During that year, when Wang Hsüan-ts'e was in Nepal, King Harsha disappeared, replaced by a usurper. Wang Hsüan-ts'e, in command of the Sino-Nepalese army, rushed to the trouble-spot, took him captive and subsequently pacified the rebels. This was the direct result of the friendly treatment given the Chinese by the Indian rulers.

Furthermore, when the Chinese envoys were in Assam, Li I-piao told King Kumara 拘摩羅 that, before the advent of Buddhism, a wise man in China had written a book that had achieved immense popularity. He was, of course, referring to Lao-tzu's *Tao Te Ching* 老子道德經, the fundamental text of the Taoists. King Kumara asked him to get it translated into the Sanskrit language when he returned to China.

By coincidence, the life of Lao-tzu is an incomplete story. No one knew when and where this great sage had ended his life after he walked out of the Han-ku Pass. Many Taoists believed that he had gone to India and converted the Buddha. When the chief ambassador returned to China, the Taoists, on hearing such a request made by King Kumara, were very anxious to do the translation and support their claim that Buddhism was derived from Taoism.

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#### NOTES

- (1) Li Ung Bing 李文彬, *Outline of Chinese History*, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914, pp. 132-136.
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- (4) Waley, Arthur, *The Real Tripitaka*, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1952, p. 19.
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- (6) Waley, *The Real Tripitaka*, p. 48.
- (7) Hsüan Chuang 玄奘 *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi* 大唐西域記 (Records of the Western Countries in the Time of the Great T'ang Dynasty), Tokyo: Imperial University Collection, 1919, p. 17.
- (8) This may be proved by his successor I-Tsing who called the people of that area Su-li. See Takakusu Junjiro, *I-Tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896, liii.
- (9) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 71.
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- (11) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 76.
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- (13) *ibid.*, p. 24.
- (14) *ibid.*, p. 24.
- (15) *ibid.*, p. 24.
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- (17) Hsüan Chuang, *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi* p. 33.
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- (19) Hsüan Chuang, *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi*, p. 35.
- (20) *ibid.*, p. 18.
- (21) *ibid.*, p. 26.
- (22) *ibid.*, pp. 1-3.
- (23) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, pp. 109-110.
- (24) Hsüan Chuang, *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi*, p. 14.
- (25) *ibid.*, p. 23.
- (26) Waley, *The Real Tripitaka*, p. 36.
- (27) Watters, Thomas, *On Yuen Chwang*, Oriental Series, Vol. XIV, p. 300.
- (28) Hsuan Chuang, *Ta-T'ang-Hsi-Yu-Chi*, p. 16.
- (29) Cunningham, Alexander, *The Ancient Geography of India*, London: Trubner & Co., 1871, p. 348.
- (30) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 149.
- (31) Gunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 443.
- (32) *Erh-shih-wu Shih* 二十五史 (The Twenty-five Histories), Shanghai: Kaiming, 1934, *T'ang Shu* 唐書 (History of the T'ang Dynasty), 3611D.
- (33) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 158.
- (34) Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 455.
- (35) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 165.
- (36) Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 502.
- (37) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 175.
- (38) *ibid.*, p. 175.
- (39) Watters, *On Yuen Chwang*, Oriental Series, Vol. XIV, p. 195.
- (40) *Narikala*, according to Yule, means cocoa-nuts. See Sir Henry Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, London: John Murray, 1875, p. 290.
- (41) *ibid.*, p. 291.
- (42) Watters, *On Yuen Chwang*, Oriental Series, Vol. XIV, p. 241.
- (43) Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 491.
- (44) According to Professor Chavannes, Su-la-sa-tang-na is identical with Souristan, a name for the country where the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon were located. It was possible Hsüan Chuang had wrongly used the regional name for the capital of Persia. See E. Chavannes. "Notes Additionnelles sur les Tou-liue (Turcs) Occidentaux," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. V, 1904, p. 84.

- (45) Yule, Sir Henry, *Travels of Marco Polo*, p. 398-399.
- (46) Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 481.
- (47) *ibid.*, p. 159.
- (48) The Narrative indicates that his subsequent northern journey started from A-tien-p'o-ch'ih-lo somewhere near the mouth of the Indus.
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- (52) Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 163.
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## Yayoi Culture—The First Chinese Culture in Japan

By Tingsen S. Wei 衛挺生

Japanese archaeology traces back to the pre-pottery mesolithic age of unascertainable time, followed by two cultures named after pottery: "Jomon culture" and "Yayoi culture". The latter was followed by a still more advanced culture found in the big tombs, known by general agreement as the "Ancient Tomb culture". The three cultures are overlapping in time. Each one is further divided into different stages or periods.

Jomon culture is so-called because of the *jo* cord, *mon* pattern of decoration, on the pottery. It is divided into five stages or periods, the Dawning, the Early, the Middle, the Later, and the Last. People of the Jomon culture were so primitive that except in the Last stage they knew nothing of agriculture or animal husbandry. Their economy was based on gathering, hunting, and fishing. Their fishing was principally confined to shellfish. Wherever they lived, they piled shells into mounds. Other fishing was done by means of hooks made of antlers and bones of animals. They hunted with stones. In the Later stage they used flint arrowheads and domesticated only dogs. They knew nothing of weaving and matting, and obviously they were clad in skins. They lived in shelters of "vertical caves", each constructed with props of tree trunk supporting a framework thatched with grass and leaves. Their implements consisted mainly of chipped stones, especially flint, and bones slightly wrought. Their pottery was made by hand, as they knew nothing about the use of wheels, until in the Last stage when they apparently were taught the use by the Yayoi people. Their highest means of transportation was the canoe, made of a log hollowed out with fire. They buried their dead naked under the shell mounds or underground. Their largest social units were small tribal villages. They left absolutely no history of any sort, not even a fictitious story.

Before the Jomon culture developed much beyond the Middle or Later stage, as the situation varied in different places, a new culture appeared in its midst. Because the first wheel-made pot of the new culture was discovered from a shell mound on Yayoi Street, near the University of Tokyo, archaeologists have agreed to call the new culture Yayoi or Yayoihiki culture. It was a chalcolithic culture in its very advanced stage. Polished stone and bronze were used for making implements and weapons. Iron left traces in numerous cases. Wood was most extensively used for implements, tools, utensils, and ornaments, as well as for building and construction materials. Bones,



horns, shells, animal and vegetable fibres were freely used as materials for making artifacts. Pottery was shaped with potters' wheels or lathes. Agriculture, horticulture, and animal husbandry were introduced into this land. Occupational specialization began. High degrees of division of labor were visible in the handicraft industries. Family and clan systems began to take shape. Villages, towns, and cities began to grow. Social stratification and civil government appeared. In short, Yayoi culture was the formative beginning of the Japanese nation. Its importance cannot be overemphasized. It changed the Japanese Isles from a land of primitive savages to a land of civilized people. Myths, legends, folklores, and traditional stories began under Yayoi culture.

In the Later period of Yayoi culture, the Ancient Tomb culture began to grow. The latter culture was partly introduced from China and partly developed in Japan by the erstwhile Yayoi culture people. That culture had a fragmentary history in the beginning, a semi-history in the later part, and ended with complete history.

Succinctly stated, Pre-Jomon and Jomon culture had no history; Yayoi culture had only a legendary or traditional story; Ancient Tomb culture had a proto-history or semi-history. To an historian, nothing beyond excavations can be done for the period having absolutely no history, and much has already been done on and known about the period of semi-history. I now propose to study as scientifically as possible the period of legendary story for more light on the beginning of the formation of the Japanese nation. I propose to study the nature, the time, and the place of origin of the Yayoi culture of Japan, and its significance in the light of other findings.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE YAYOI CULTURE

An old Chinese proverb says: "To hear about a thing a hundred times cannot compare with seeing it once". Hence, I want to settle controversies with pictures wherever possible, though clear logical reasoning is always all-important.

Plate I shows examples of early and later Jomon pottery. Plate II shows examples of Jomon stone implements and weapons and bone implements. They were all very primitive, but were found side by side with Yayoi relics. The Japanese archaeologists agreed that they were principally the relics of the aboriginal tribes, Yemishis or Ainus, Kumazos, Izumos, etc.

Plate III shows the various forms and types of Yayoi pottery according to Mr. Yukio Kobayashi (Nihon Bunkashi Taikei, 1938, hereafter cited as "N.B.T. '38.") But all these forms were well known among Chinese pottery in ancient China. Columns A and B were known in China as *hu*, C as *fu*, D as *po* (big) or *wan* (small), E as *weng* (big) or *kuan* (small), F as *tou*. Of the types, I is called Oka River style of the Early period in Northern Kyushu, II Susaka style of the Middle period in Northern Kyushu, III comb-brush style of the Middle period in Kinai, IV comb-brush style of the Middle period in Owari, V Kuribayashi style of the Early period in Shinano, VI Kukehara style of the Middle period in Musashi, VII Hozumi style of the Later period in Kinai. From III to VII, the places are all in Honshu.

Plates IIIa, IV and V show varieties of Chinese pottery of the Yin-Chou-Ch'in periods (Yin ca. 1700 B.C.-1122 B.C., Chou 1122 B.C.-255 B.C., Ch'in 255 B.C.-207 B.C.). In Plate IV, all except three (115, 62, 50 from Anyang excavations) are taken from Hui Hsien Excavation Report, Peiping, 1956.

Plate V shows varieties of Chinese *fu*, *po* or *wan*, *weng* or *kuan*, and *tou* of the Yin-Chou-Ch'in period. All except two (FI, FII, from Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai Excavation Report) are taken from the Anyang Excavation Report (Hsiao-T'un, series Two, Volume III, Pottery, Taipei, 1956, hereafter cited as "Hsiao-T'un Pottery").

In these four plates, vessels under axes of the same numbering are similar or nearly similar: e.g., Plate III AI, BI, similar to Plate IV AI, BI; Plate III, DI FI, similar to Plate V DI, FI, etc. But most of these Chinese vessels were found among the Yin relics in Anyang and Hui Hsien, both in Honan, China. The reason is that in the past most of the Chinese archaeologists did not pay much attention to the study of pottery. They have awakened to the importance only lately. The Hsiao-T'un excavation was carried out more than twenty to thirty years ago. Only last year (1956) under the able leadership of Dr. Li Chi was the pottery studied and published. The Peiping Science Academy published Hui Hsien Yin-Chou pottery almost at the same time. Only fragmentary information can be found from other excavation reports. Because the information of the others is largely unavailable, therefore, except Plate IIIa, most of the pictures of Chinese pottery were taken from Yin excavations. But with what we have, it fully shows that Ch'in and pre-Ch'in China had all the forms of pottery that Japan's Yayoi culture had. All these forms in China can be traced as far back as 1700 B.C. Apparently these forms originated in China.

Not only the forms are similar but the patterns of decoration on the pottery have also shown their close relationship and great similarity. In Plate VI, A is a Japanese pottery vessel found in Kukehara, Musashi, of the *hu* type, fully decorated with comb-brush designs. Plate VI, B are the Yayoi comb-brush patterns. Plate VI, A' and B' are Yin-Chou Chinese patterns of decoration found on potsherds in Anyang and Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai respectively. In Plate VII, A and C, a pot and a jar are Yayoi pottery unearthed in Japan, each bearing distinctive patterns of decoration. B and D are designs on Yin-Chou pottery found on potsherds unearthed in Hsiao-T'un, Anyang. It should be especially noted that the rice husks impressed into the bottom of the Yayoi pot A, have been identified by agronomists as North China varieties of rice.<sup>1</sup>

In Plate VIII, the Hsiao-T'un Yin time potsherds show five kinds of classical patterns of decoration. Some of them were mentioned in *Shu King* (Confucian "History Classic"). In Plate IX, the patterns of decoration used by Yamato potters on Karako painted pottery followed much the same tradition. Unless the Yamato potters were trained under the Chinese Yin-Chou culture, or under its influence, such a

thing could not have happened. Therefore, Yayoi pottery appears to have originated in China.

Next let us examine Yayoi stone implements to see whether they have Chinese prototypes. In Plate XV, A, the Yayoi stone adzes, axes, and chisels were unearthed in Japan; B shows the articles of the same types found in Yin Anyang and in the Yin-Chou-Ch'in stratum of Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai. In Plate XVI are the various kinds of stone scythes and stone harvesting knives found in Yayoi Japan. In Plate XVII are similar Chinese counterparts. It will be interesting to scholars to mention the places where they were found and their times: A1, 2, 4 from Anyang, Honan, Yin; A3, from Liu-Li-Ko, Hui Hsien, Honan, Yin-Chou-Ch'in; B1, from Yangshao, Honan, pre-Yin; B2, from Minch'in, Kansu, pre-Yin; B3, from Hung-Shan-Hou, Jehol, Yin-Chou; B4, from Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Shantung, Yin-Chou-Ch'in; B5-6, from Liaotung Peninsula, Yin-Chou-Ch'in. Plate XVIII, A shows that the two holes on the knife were used for fixing a hand cushion. The left side ones are stone; the right side ones are steel harvesting knives in modern times used in North China. B is a map showing the wide distribution of the stone scythes, harvesting and other knives of rectangular, crescent, triangular and other shaped types all over China. The time spanned from about 3000 B.C. to 200 B.C. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the stone implements of Yayoi Japan obviously also originated in China. Plate XIX shows that even such very small things as spinning whorls and fishing-net weights, both stone and pottery, of the Yayoi culture, had much earlier Chinese prototypes.

When we come to Japan's Yayoi bronze weapons, implements, mirrors, bells, coins, and sundries—volumes have been written in Japan to identify their Chinese originals and Japanese imitations. It seems unnecessary for me to prove them one by one again. In passing, I would like to mention that the smaller swords were principally produced in the Hwai River Valley in China and were widely distributed all over China and beyond, from the Yangtze River Valley to Siberia as far as Vladivostok, from Korea, Manchuria to West China.<sup>2</sup> The larger swords have been found to agree in composition and in measure with standard formulae laid down in the official Chou time book, *K'aokungchi*.<sup>3</sup> These swords too were much recorded from 700 B.C. downward and the formulae seem to have been followed by makers in Japan. The same things may be said of other weapons such as halberds, spears, arrows, etc. which prevailed in China from 1700 B.C. downward.

Plate XXI shows Yayoi stone molds for bronze castings and their Chinese prototypes. Plate XXII shows a conglomeration of things Yayoi, and their Chinese prototypes. Plate XXIII shows Chinese music and other bells and their modified reproductions in Yayoi Japan.

Mirrors and coins from China, found in Yayoi Japan, need no effort to identify. They bear inscriptions in Chinese characters to tell their own time and place of origin.

Wooden things played a very important role in Yayoi economy before copper and iron mines were discovered in Japan. Wooden tools were used in the fields and in workshops, and wooden utensils and furniture were used in the households. Wood was used both as tools for, and as materials in, all building and construction work. They were preserved in water in Toro, near Tokyo, so that we can see them today as they were two thousand years ago. Many of these tools can be found in farming districts in modern China. The same may be said about the Yayoi thatched huts, which can be found in farming districts in China today.

Of all the things identified as Yayoi culture, there are few of which we have not seen Chinese prototypes or counterparts. Therefore, it is most probable that Yayoi culture was a Chinese culture.

### THE TIME OF ITS ARRIVAL IN JAPAN

The next question is: When did that culture arrive in Japan? To answer this question, we have to study Chinese archaeology for the indications of time.

In Chinese archaeology, we find that in the period of the Yin and Chou Dynasties (17th to 3rd century B.C.) many artifacts for fourteen centuries or more had recognizable continuity. But in the post-Chou period, since 255 B.C. when Ch'in annexed the last remnant of Chou, since 231 B.C. when Ch'in began to annex the other six major kingdoms, and since 221 B.C. when Ch'in completed the unification of the Chinese Empire, everything in China rapidly changed with increased acceleration, from philosophy to politics, from the form of the state to the society, from language to literature, from arts to artifacts. But Ch'in as an imperial dynasty only lasted 13 years from 221 B.C. to 207 B.C. After five years of turmoil China was unified again under the imperial dynasty of Han, which lasted more than four centuries (202 B.C.—220 A.D.) During the Han period, a new age was opened up. Everything developed along new lines, including the artifacts used in daily life.

Plates X and Xa show various kinds of tripodal cooking pottery used above ground during the Yin-Chou period. In the extreme left column, Pl. X, are shown solid-legged pots, called *ting*. The two central columns are hollow-legged pots, called *li*. The top two of the extreme right column are hollow-legged pots each topped with a pot having a big hole in the bottom for use in steaming, called *hsien*; the bottom three with the hollow legs are called *chia* and *kuéi*. These hollow-legged pots of all descriptions appeared in almost all excavations of the Yin-Chou period but suddenly disappeared entirely after Chou. The solid-legged vessels in the Han time took a broader field. They were no longer used as cooking pots but were used for storing food, grain, and general objects to avoid dampness (as in Plate XI, 3,5,7). For cooking above ground, the Han people invented small stoves (Plate XIII, 5a, 5b) as well as big stoves (Plate XII 1-6). In cooking on a large scale, the Yin-Chou-Ch'in people used the round-bottomed pot, *fu* (Plate XIV, 2, 4, 5; Plate XIII, 2 top; Plate XXII, 9 bottom) with a pot

having six or more holes, *tseng*, on the top for steaming (Plates XII, 9 top; XIII top 1; Xa, B), all heated on ground stoves (Plate XIII, bottom 2, 3). These last two ground stoves were used in the Ch'in time, because two Ch'in coins were found there, with other things identified as being in that time. Whether Ch'in had any simple pottery stove used above ground, excavations so far have not yet found an answer. But, nevertheless, the hollow-legged cooking vessels disappeared. The Han people used pottery stoves for domestic cooking of any scale. But in war time we read that they still dug the ground for cooking. The *fu tseng* they used more or less differed in style from the former ones, as shown in Plate XII. Metallic *fu* was also used during the Han (XIII 10).

Now, to return to Yayoi Japan, no tripodal pot of any kind has ever been unearthed there. This seems to mean that at the time the Yayoi culture entered Japan, it was already post-Chou time in China. At the same time, none of the big or small pottery stoves of the Han style has ever been found, nor any other typical Han pottery (see Plate XI). It seems to mean that the time was before Han. Between Chou and Han, the time was Ch'in. In Plate XIV A, the cooking pots *fu* unearthed from Jimmu Tenno's outer palace ground are the same in style as the Anyang Yin time cooking pots *fu* in A', but are different from any of Han *fu* in Plate XII, 2, 5, and Plate XIII 10. It further confirms that the time was Ch'in or pre-Ch'in, not Han, in China. Plate XIV 6 may be a kind of transitional stove to XIV 7 and 8 pottery stoves found in Ancient Tomb culture Japan. But the latter two sets of pottery stoves, cooking pots, and steaming pots, had a development independent of the Han types. This shows that Yayoi culture was culturally independent, while absorbing further ideas from China in the continent.

The stone implements found in abundance in Japan became obsolete in Han China. That further proves that Yayoi people did not come in the Han time. The many artifacts bearing Han stamps as mirrors and coins nevertheless came to Japan continuously. That seems to indicate that Yayoi people were trading with China unofficially and incognito. Mr. Kenzo Tomioka's *Kokyō no Kenkyū*, (A Study of Ancient Mirrors) Plates 64-71 giving pictures of many mirrors unearthed in Yayoi Japan, shows many early, middle and late Han mirrors in style. That may mean that the Yayoi people in Japan never actually stopped communicating with their mother country.

When we examine the Yayoi burials, it again proves that the Yayoi people came to Japan before Han. In Plate XXIV A, is a typical stone cist burial in Yayoi Japan. It was common in pre-Ch'in China, as illustrated in B. But the Han people invented new ways of burial in brick tombs or in pottery coffins, as shown in C, D, E, F, which were easier to procure, cheaper in the cost of labor, but much more elegant in appearance. In the days of Yayoi Japan, when metallic tools were extremely scarce, it was no easy job to hew rocks to make stone cists for burial. But the stone cist was nevertheless used. It probably means that the Han inventions of brick tombs and pottery coffins were not yet known to the Yayoi fathers of Japan. So, in all probability, Yayoi culture entered Japan before Han and after Chou, that is, in the Ch'in time.



Some scholars may contend that China had long entered into the Iron Age in the East Chou period (770 B.C.—255 B.C.). How could it be that as late as Ch'in time (255-207 B.C.), the Yayoi people were still using stone implements, if they were from China? The answer probably is that since Kuan Yi-wu adopted the policy of State monopoly of metallic mines in the 7th century B.C., few metallic things, except such small articles as needles and thimbles and some such vital tools as plowshares, could reach the common people. Later when the First Emperor of Ch'in unified China, he collected all the metallic weapons and carried them to the Ch'in capital, Hsien-yang.<sup>4a</sup> Few articles of metal were left to the common people. They had to use more of stone and wooden tools and weapons. When they went to Japan, before copper and iron mines were discovered there, they had to use stone and wooden tools and weapons. The use of wooden things for farming and for daily life was especially noticeable, as shown in Karako and Toro excavations.<sup>4b</sup>

Archaeologists would certainly wish to know to what extent iron was used by the Yayoi culture folks. The following is a brief table of Japan's Yayoi Culture iron findings taken from the late Mr. Rokuji Morimoto's book: *Japan's Bronze Age Relics Classified Geographically*, Tokyo, 1929.

Place	Iron Relics
Shirotake, Tsushima	iron plowshare, iron sword
Sasuna, Tsushima	iron sword
Nuka, Tsushima	iron sword
Haruhi, Tsukushi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Tamata, Tsukushi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Naka, Tsukushi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Sumeyoshi, Tsukushi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Hie, Tsukushi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Fukuda, Asakura, Chikuzen	iron sword and spear
Kofuji, Itoshima, Chikuzen	iron remnants and broken wares
Machara, Itoshima, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Fukuyoshi, Itoshima, Chikuzen	iron sword
Imatsu, Itoshima, Chikuzen	iron remnants
3 places, Iki, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Takuma, Hayayoshi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Mitsui, Hayayoshi, Chikuzen	iron remnants
Yamato, Chikugo	iron remnants
Tadai, Hizen	iron remnants and iron sword
Nishihiso, Hizen	iron arrow-heads
Usa, Fuzen	iron sword

The above cited book is rather old. Many excavations have been made since that book was published and many more iron findings have been known. So there is no doubt that Yayoi culture in Japan began with stone, bronze and iron in the same time, as the great archaeologist of the past generation Dr. K. Takahashi remarked long ago.

Some people may wish to know what the leading Japanese archaeological authorities have to say on the question of when Yayoi culture entered Japan. Let me cite the opinion of some of the most well-known Japanese archaeologists.

Dr. Kazuchika Komai, Professor of the University of Tokyo, a very eminent Japanese archaeologist, once pointed out (in his article: "On Bronze Small Swords" in the book *Mirrors, Swords and Jades*, compiled by the Japanese Archaeological Association, Tokyo 1942) that the so-called "small bronze swords" were in reality bronze daggers (or "*pi-shou*" in Chinese), made in the Hwai River valley in China and widely distributed to as far north as Vladivostok in Siberia and as far east as Korea. This kind of weapon was much recorded in the history of China between the later part of the Chou and the early part of the Han periods. It was made particularly famous because a very brave man, Ching K'o, used it and attempted to assassinate the great despot King Cheng (later known as the "First Emperor") of Ch'in in the year 227 B.C. Therefore, it may be said to be a Ch'in time weapon. The fact that so many of this kind of dagger are unearthed from Yayoi cultured Japan (see map on page 213 in *Nihon Bunkashi Taikei*, 1956, Vol. I) bespeaks that their owners probably came in the Ch'in time.

Professor Moriichi (or Shuichi) Goto of Meiji University in Tokyo wrote recently in his chapter on Archaeological Chronology in the book just mentioned above (*ibid.* p. 21), and assigned to Yayoi culture the time-span from around 250 B.C. to around 250 A.D. in his synthetic diagram of prehistoric cultural chronology of the world. To interpret that in terms of Chinese historical chronology, Yayoi culture in Japan began in the Ch'in time and ended in the Wei time of the period of Three Empires. In other words, he admitted that Yayoi culture came to Japan during Ch'in. Now, Professor Goto is one of the foremost authorities on Japanese archaeology and has written many volumes on it, which have been regarded as authoritative books in the world of archaeologists.

When I theorized in my book, *Jimmu Kaikoku Shinko* (Hong Kong, 1950), that Chinese culture entered Japan in the Ch'in time, Japanese scholars dissented (see *Mainichi Monthly*, May 1951). As late as 1952, one eminent Japanese scholar, Dr. Saburo Ienaga, Professor of Japanese History of the Education University (Tokyo) and simultaneously Professorial Lecturer of the (Imperial) University of Tokyo, wrote to me stating that the consensus of opinion of the Japanese archaeologists then was that Yayoi pottery was not Chinese pottery and that Yayoi culture entered Japan not earlier than the first century A.D. To convince him and the other Japanese scholars that they were mistaken, I published my book, *Hsu Fu and Japan* (Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 70-72, 78, 82-95). I am glad that at least one of my principal points of contention—the Ch'in time as the beginning of Yayoi culture in Japan—has been agreed to by such an eminent authority in Japanese archaeology as Professor M. Goto. It is very satisfying to note that Dr. Ienaga is the number one editor on the editorial committee of this new compilation (NBT 1956) where this point is brought out. Through the kindness of Professor E. O. Reischauer, Director of Harvard-Yenching Institute, I have indirectly suggested to Professor Goto to make a radio-carbon dating test at the earliest Yayoi deposit

sites, to insure accurate dating. When that is done there will no more disputes scientifically. As to the place of origin of the Yayoi culture, Japanese scholars have not yet reached a general agreement. It is my endeavor in this paper to show that China was the true place of its origin.

### HOW DID YAYOI CULTURE COME TO JAPAN?

Japanese, Chinese, and Western scholars have generally assumed that Japan's Yayoi Culture, if it were a Chinese culture, was possibly an outgrowth or branching out of the Chinese culture implanted in Korea. The reasons for the assumption are the following:

First, because geographically Korea stands between China and Japan. In the early days, all communication between China and Japan went by sailing along the Shantung Peninsula to the Liaotung Peninsula along the coast of the Korean Peninsula and finally across the Tsushima Strait to land at Kyushu. A direct crossing of the East China Sea from any point of the Chinese coast to any point of the Japanese coast with a span of at least 500 to 600 miles was too dangerous and little heard of in the navigation of those days.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, because historically the Chinese entered Korea long before they entered Japan. Ssuma Chien in his *Shih Chi* (Historical Record)<sup>6</sup> stated that Ki Tzu was the first Chinese to rule over Chosen in Korea, around 1122 B.C., and the Ki dynasty lasted to Ki Chun in 195 B.C. In the later part of the Seven States period (403 B.C.—230 B.C.), the Kingdom of Yen colonized Manchuria and maintained a nominal political suzerainty over the Korean Kingdom of Chosen. During and after the Ch'in conquest, many Chinese took refuge in Chosen, Korea. Wei Man from Yen established another Chinese dynasty, 194 B.C.—109 B.C. over Chosen. *Shanhai King*, ("The Classic of Mountains and Seas"),<sup>7</sup> a pre-Ch'in book, stated that "North *Wo* and South *Wo* belonged to Yen." Here "*Wo*" meant Japan. From these data it is easy to be led to the conjecture that Korea must have been thoroughly imbued with Chinese culture long before Japan.

Thirdly, because traditionally Japan obtained many items of Chinese culture from Korea. According to *Nihon Shoki*, Japan obtained from Korea, Chinese writing, reading, and arithmetic; Chinese literature and classics, the Chinese calendar and Buddhism, and what not. Since such was the case in the protohistoric times, it could easily be deduced that in prehistoric times similar things might have happened.

These reasonings are all well grounded on published statements. But how much of these statements were based on actual facts is important for archaeologists to find out and prove. Archaeology began in Japan in the later part of Emperor Mutsuhito's reign, the Meiji Era, 1867-1912. But serious and large-scale excavations actually took place only under the Taisho and Showa Eras, 1912 to now. In the latter period, the same-scaled excavations were also undertaken by Japanese archaeologists in Korea, which was annexed by Japan in 1910. Up to the end of World War II there were almost as many places excavated and studied in Korea as there were in Japan. An

exhaustive study of all the known reports on excavations in Korea and reports of archaeologists' studies on them has—it may appear as a great surprise to everybody—given a *negative answer* to the general assumption and reasonable conjecture just stated above. The results of the study of Korean archaeology can be summarized briefly as follows:

1. Neither the supposed site of the Chosen Kingdom of Ki Tzu, nor the supposed site of the Chosen Kingdom of Wei Man, nor the Mahan site of the southern kingdom of Ki Chun, has shown much underground deposit of pottery of the Yin-Chou style found in Yayoi Japan, Ch'inhan being known as a Chinese settlement assigned to "Ch'in" refugees in the Han time.
2. The few kinds of pottery found in Korean excavations that bear some similarity to Japan's Yayoi pottery were such things as *hu* and *tou*, which are also found in the Han stratum of recent Loyang excavations. Therefore, they do not prove to be Ch'in or pre-Ch'in.
3. The tiles and bricks found in various places in Korean excavations were similar to those found in Chinese excavations of the Yen and Chao sites of the pre-Ch'in time. But such tiles and bricks are also found in the Han stratum of Loyang. Therefore, they do not prove to be Ch'in or pre-Ch'in relics. Such tiles and bricks have not been seen in Yayoi Japan.
4. In cistern burial, the kind of cisterns used in Northern Kyushu and their arrangements have not been found in Korea nor in Manchuria, but are found in Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Shantung and Yangshao, Honan (Plate XXV). The Korean cisterns and arrangements are similar to those of Manchuria (Plate XXVI) but entirely different from those of Northern Kyushu Yayoi Japan.
5. Pre-Ch'in time Yen coins are found in abundance from underground Korea. No Ch'i coin has ever been found in Korea, though Ch'i was known to be the state in China that first coined money. This showed that Yen had exclusive economic influence over pre-Ch'in Korea, and Ch'i had no economic influence in that land.
6. A few Pre-Chin bronze pieces of great value were found in Korea which showed perhaps the nominal political influence of Yen over Korea.
7. Yin-Chou and pre-Yin prevailing types of stone knives such as are shown in Plates XVII and XVIII were found in Korea underground. They seem to be the only principal items of pre-Ch'in Chinese artifacts that influence the life of the mass of the early inhabitants of Korea.

From the findings stated above it is clear that the Chinese culture before Han had little influence over the daily life of the Korean tribes. We do not know whether

the Ki Tzu story was a true history, though the tomb known as "The Mausoleum of Ki Tzu" in Pyönyang has remained unexcavated. Even if it were true, he apparently neither attempted to change the language nor the ways of living of his Chosen subjects. The broad rules of his "Eight Article Law"<sup>6</sup> were perhaps the only thing that he imposed on the native inhabitants. This is consistent with the ancient tradition relating to the established policy of treating non-Chinese races. In *Li Chi*, one of the Confucian Classics, in the Book of Royal Institutes (Wang Chih) paragraph 40, it is said:

"The inhabitants of different places have different customs. . . . Their food is different in cooking and taste. Their implements and tools are different in styles and forms. Their clothing is different in appropriateness. (The government authorities) should instruct them without changing the people's customs, to keep the order without changing their mode of life. . . . Where the language cannot be understood, use interpreters. . . ."

Now, the Royal Institutes were Yin-Chou institutes. Since such were the traditions, it is no wonder that the Chinese rulers in going to a place, neither changed the language of the inhabitants, nor their tools and implements. That probably explains why, after centuries of Chinese rule, the mass of inhabitants left neither the Chinese language nor the Chinese implements. In the case of Wei Man, Ssuma Ch'ien stated clearly that when he made himself King of Chao-hsieh (Chosen), he adopted the custom of the natives. His descendants did not use Chinese names but had native names.

A further explanation may be given. Even in the case of refugees who were not accustomed to live in the natives' ways, they nevertheless did not produce implements in the Chinese manner. That may be due to the fact that among the refugees there were no artisans who knew how to make implements. In the pre-Ch'in days, class distinction was a social institution strictly observed. The ruling class knew nothing of pottery making or smithing. As a result, though large numbers of people may have migrated into Korea as refugees, they could not make things Chinese. Only when Chinese Provinces were established in Korea after 108 B.C. and when the governors of the new provinces wanted to raise the level of culture of their provinces to the level of other provinces of the empire, did they call in Chinese artisans. The nearest place from land route were the artisans of erstwhile Greater Yen, Yen, and Chao, which are Liaoning, northern and southern Hopei in modern geography. Hence the Han products still followed the pre-Ch'in Yen-Chao traditions about the making of certain articles.

To come back to Yayoi Japan again, we find only very few articles which Yayoi Japan had in common with earliest Korea, as the excavations of the sites of cities of the First and Second Kingdom of Chosen clearly show; other things are largely different. Japan's Yayoi pottery followed Ch'in and pre-Ch'in Yin-Chou style, but early Korean pottery followed Han and post-Han style. Chronologically, therefore, Japan's Yayoi pottery belonged to an earlier age than early Korean pottery. Again, Japan's Yayoi cistern burials used totally different kinds of cisterns from those used in Korea and Manchuria, but similar to those of Yin-Chou-Ch'in Shantung. These facts make



it impossible to assume that Japan's Yayoi culture was an outgrowth or branching out of Chinese culture implanted in Korea, as neither the time nor the kind agrees. But it is possible to theorize that it was a Ch'in time Chinese culture that came from Shantung. Since the Oka River style of pottery was the earliest style of Yayoi pottery, and the Mouth of the Oka River lies opposite Pusan across the Tsushima Strait, it perhaps can be interpreted as coming from Shantung Peninsula by coasting Korea and crossing the Tsushima Strait. Recently some thought that Suku style was the earliest, others thought that Itazuke was the earliest place of landing. But in so far as these two places are not far from the Oka River Mouth, all being in the same section of the Northern Kyushu coast, the same conclusion still holds good.

#### WHEN DID THE YAYOI CULTURE ENTER YAMATO?

Plate XX shows that in Karako, Yamato, the Yayoi people still used principally stone implements: stone axes, adzes, chisels, wheel-cutters, flint spearheads, and halberds, harvesting and kitchen knives, stone and pottery spinning whorls, earthen shots, earthen fishing-net weights, horn, bone, antler, and wooden implements. When stone occupied such an important place in Yamato economy, the time could not be very late. While traces of iron are said to be visible, a mold for casting bronze swords was unearthed in Yamato. It means that the use of stone implements was still not forgotten in an iron-bronze age. From Plate XIV, the cooking pots of Emperor Jimmu's outer palace ground bear much similarity with the Hsiao-T'un, Anyang pots of Yin-Chou culture, and from Plate IX, the designs on painted pottery follow closely the Yin-Chou traditions. All these facts indicate the recency of the culture's arrival from China because the artisans trained with the Yin-Chou traditional technique for ceremonial vessels were still living to produce the painted pottery and the carved wood. The distribution of the earliest type of Yayoi pottery, the Oka River type, in the Kii Peninsula, Ise and Yamato, also indicates that the Yayoi people entered Yamato not long after their first arrival at the northern Kyushu coast.

#### THE YAYOI PEOPLE CAME TO JAPAN AS A GREAT ORGANIZED BODY

The Lolang (Korean "Lakliang") Excavation is very instructive and enlightening. The Lolang Province of the Han Empire had been the territory of the Chosen Kingdom of Wei Man. The refugees from the Revolutionary War in the Ch'in Empire swarmed across the Yalu River by the tens of thousands. When their number became so large that they outnumbered the native kingdom under the Ki Dynasty, their leader Wei Man, a Chinese from the erstwhile Kingdom of Yen, seized the kingdom and became the King of Chosen himself. This happened in 194 B.C., the 14th year after the overthrow of the Ch'in Dynasty in China. When such an enormously large number of Ch'in Chinese migrated into Chosen, which state was later organized as the Province of Lolang, one would naturally suppose that in the exavation the relics would show first Ch'in pottery of the Yin-Chou tradition. But such was not the case. There was no Ch'in or pre-Ch'in Yin-Chou style pottery but only Han bricks and tiles. That clearly

demonstrates one significant fact. Artifacts were changed in style and new artifacts were produced only when new artisans came to the scene. Among the thousands of Ch'in Empire refugees that migrated into Chosen, there might be no trained potters. Therefore pottery was not influenced by the influx of the large number. The same may be said of other artifacts. Hence, aside from Yen coins, few or practically no pre-Ch'in relics are found in Lolang. But as soon as the Lolang Province was established under the Han Empire, the Governors naturally desired that the inhabitants live a civil life not too far behind the cultural level of the other provinces of the Han Empire. Artisans of all trades were then called in to bring the new province up to date. Hence, Han style artifacts were found in that province. Such was the difference between an unorganized migration and an organized migration.

From the beginning of the Yayoi culture's arrival in northern Kyushu, many industries, including pottery, were started at once. Among them may be mentioned agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, spinning, matting, net-making, sewing and the other more specialized handicrafts of pottery-making, carpentering, wood-carving, mining, smelting, smithing, stone and wood implements-making, bronze and iron ware casting, and the making of weapons of all descriptions. It required thorough-going planning and vast financial resources to finance a methodical and large-scaled organization, so that in these isles of Mesolithic primitive people a community of Ch'in stage Chinese culture could be implanted and grow. It certainly required, above all, competent leadership, whether the leader was called "Hiko," or "Mikoto" or "King." The steady growth and rapid progress of Yayoi culture is self-evident in that it grew in complexity and contents, and gradually expanded in area. Map II shows the area which the Yayoi culture covered after four centuries of its expansion. Such expansion and growth presupposed the existence of a good and efficiently administered civil government and its long and steady continuance. Without long and continued peace, order and economic prosperity, such rapid progress would be impossible. Therefore, our conclusion is that Yayoi culture entered Japan as a large, well-organized body under the competent leadership of an unusually wise and far-seeing leader. It continued to be well led and well governed for many generations, as the results clearly indicated.

#### THE QUESTION OF IMPORTATION vs. INVASION

Certain "patriotic" Japanese scholars do not like to admit an invasion. In their naive way, they like to fancy the arrival of the Yayoi Culture as an importation in the same way that the Meiji reform imported Occidental culture, the Taikwa Reform imported T'ang Chinese culture, or the proto-historic Japanese sovereigns imported the Ancient Tomb Chinese culture. In other words, they like to assert that there was a sort of "Yayoi Reform." Let us see whether such a thing was possible.

It was possible for the Meiji Era Japan to import Occidental culture because Tokugawa Japan was about one century behind Europe and American culture. It was possible for the Taikwa Era Japan to import T'ang culture, because Asuka Japan was about a century behind T'ang China in culture. It was also possible for the semihis-

## Head Measurements of the Japanese and Their Neighboring Peoples

Head Lengths (in milimetres)

Head Breadths	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193
144			In					Me	Me				
145	Me			Me	Su	Me Fi	Me	Mi	In		Su	Aus	
146	In Ma				Su	In	Me In	Fi	Mi		Su	In	
147	In		Me Ch	Fi	Me	Su Ch	Su Ch	Mi Nor	Me	Me Ch		Me	
148	In		In	Fi Ch	In		Ch	Ch	In	Me			
149	In Ma		Ch In Fi	Fi	Ch Mi	Ch Mi In	In	Ch			Nor	Nor Mi	Ai
150	In Ma Ko	Fi	Ko			Ch	Fo In Ch				Me Ch		
151		Ko		Ko		Fo Ch	Nor	Ch	Nor In			Nor	
152		Fi	Ko Ch					Ch				Fi	
153	Ko				Ch Fo		In	Nor Po	Nor	Mi	Nor		Po
154	Ko							Mon		Po	Nor Po		
155	Man	Man		Man		Nor			Nor				
156	Po		Mon	Ko Man	Man								
157		Ko	Man Mon				Po Mon	Mon	Po	Po Nor		Nor	
158			Mon			Man Mon		Man			Po	Nor	

Ai=Ainu

Aus=Australian native

Ch=Chinese

Fi=Filipino

Fo=Formosan, Kaosha

In=Indonesian

Ko=Korean

Ma=Malay

Me=Melanesian

Mi=Micronesian

Man=Manchu

Mon=Mongol

Nor=Northern races of Siberia

Po=Polynesian

Su=Sunda

Note: This chart is abridged and translated from Dr. Hasebe's, NBT 1956, v 1.

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147	In		Me Ch	Fi	Me	Su Ch	Su Ch	Mi Nor	Me	Me Ch		Me	
148	In		In	Fi Ch	In		Ch	Ch	In	Me			
149	In Ma		Ch In Fi	Fi	Ch Mi	Ch Mi In	In	Ch			Nor	Nor Mi	Ai
150	In Ma Ko	Fi	Ko			Ch	Fo In Ch				Me Ch		
151		Ko		Ko		Fo Ch	Nor	Ch	Nor In			Nor	
152		Fi	Ko Ch					Ch				Fi	
153	Ko				Ch Fo		In	Nor Po	Nor	Mi	Nor		Po
154	Ko							Mon		Po	Nor Po		
155	Man	Man		Man		Nor			Nor				
156	Po		Mon	Ko Man	Man								
157		Ko	Man Mon				Po Mon	Mon	Po	Po Nor		Nor	
158			Mon			Man Mon		Man			Po	Nor	

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Fi=Filipino

Fo=Formosan, Kaosha

In=Indonesian

Ko=Korean

Ma=Malay

Me=Melanesian

Mi=Micronesian

Man=Manchu

Mon=Mongol

Nor=Northern races of Siberia

Po=Polynesian

Su=Sunda

Note: This chart is abridged and translated from Dr. Hasebe's, NBT 1956, v. 1.





toric Japanese sovereigns to import the Chinese culture of the "Six Dynasties" period, for Yamato Japan was about one or two centuries behind China in culture. However, the cultural gap between the Yayoi culture and the Jomon culture was not a gap of one or two centuries but a gap of two or three milleniums or more. The Yayoi culture was the Chinese culture of the Ch'in level. The Jomon culture was comparable with the Chinese culture of the pre-Fu-hsi level. How could Jomon Japan have a spontaneous importation of a foreign culture? There was no civil government of any sort. The largest social unit the Jomon had was a small tribal village. Who could organize such an educational mission to Ch'in China? They lived on gathering-hunting-fishing economy, and lived hand-to-mouth as tribal groups. No trade existed, even barter. What could they use as wherewithal to send their educational mission? They had no vehicle higher than the log-made canoe. How could they organize a large mission of a fleet of canoes to cross the sea to pursue a study of something of which they had no elementary notion? Therefore, the fantastic idea of a spontaneous importation of a Chinese culture from the Ch'in Empire, a "Yayoi Reform," is scientifically inadmissible. It was most probably a Chinese invasion. The history of England records many invasions. No nation is free from incidents of invasion, unless that nation's history has been of very short duration.

#### WERE THE YAYOI PEOPLE CHINESE?

Who were the Yayoi people? Dr. Kenji Kyono, Professor of Kyoto University, most famous for his measurement of the bones of ancient people, after having measured many skeletons, gave the following conclusions: \*

(1) The bones of the persons buried in cisterns resemble very closely the bones of the modern Japanese. They also bear some resemblance to the Stone Age people. The Yayoi people did not drive away the Jomon people, but absorbed them.

(2) The chalcolithic people resemble closely the Ancient Tomb people, but do not resemble the shell-mound people.

(3) The bones of the Ancient Tomb culture people resemble very closely the chalcolithic people, but even more strongly resemble the modern Japanese. But the head and limbs of some of them had more affinity to the Jomon culture people than to modern Japanese.

(4) The Jomon culture people differed extremely from modern Japanese and also equally differed from modern Ainus. But in the South toward the Last period, they had great similarities.

(5) At the time when metals were used along with stone, the people then grew in similarity to modern Japanese. But the Stone Age people still existed among them. So we can say, in the Last period of the Stone Age, the aborigines of Japan changed physically because of their mixing of blood with the new invaders.

(6) In the Ancient Tomb culture period, the people were physically largely the same as modern Japanese. The mixing of blood went on further. Through natural selection emerged the modern Japanese.

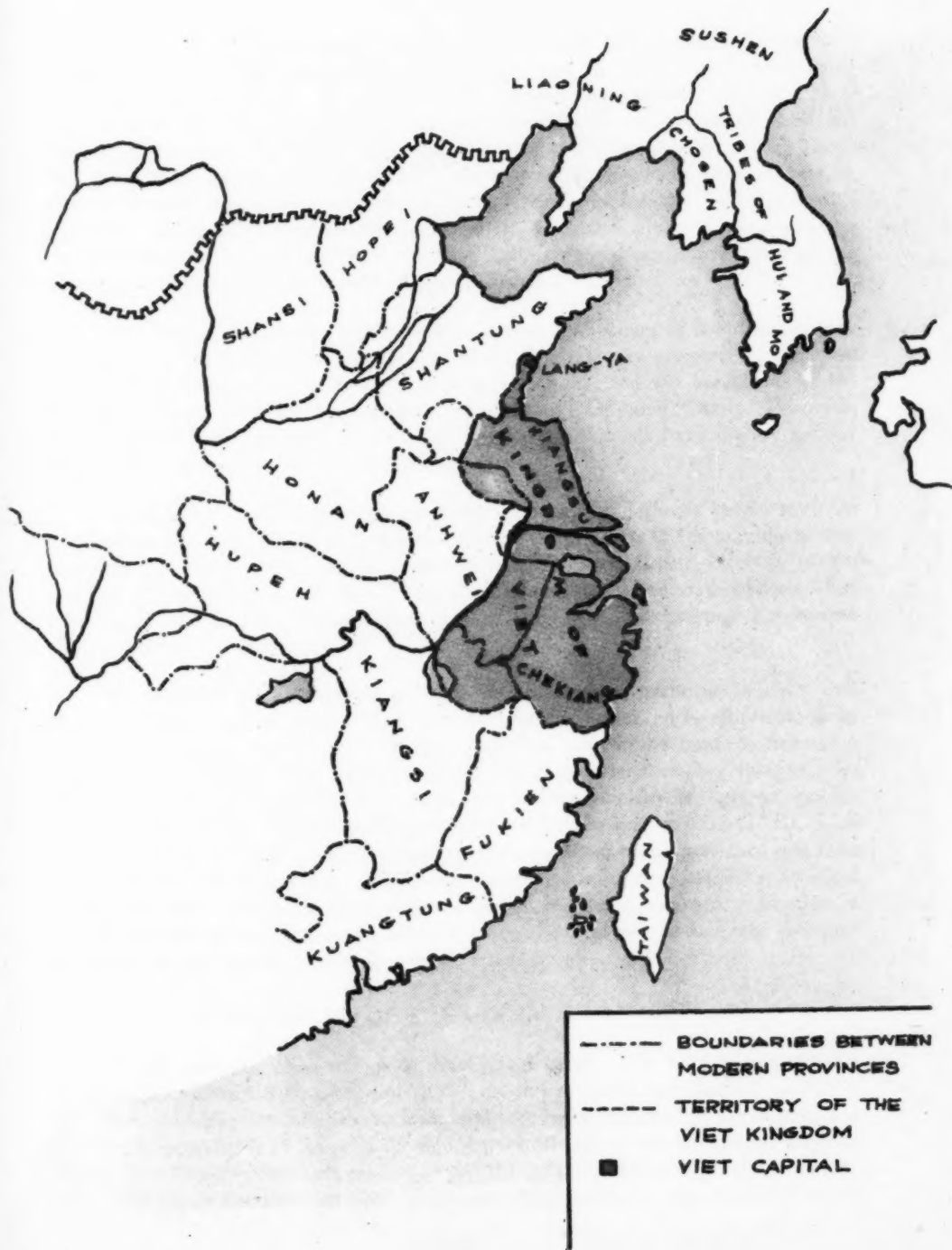
Dr. Akira Matsumura,<sup>9</sup> Assistant Professor of the University of Tokyo, in 1925 made a measurement of university and normal college students, covering 6,000 male and 2,000 female students from 72 states. The result gave an average of 183-193 mm. for maximum head lengths, and 147-154 mm. for maximum head breadths. Compared with the nearby peoples, the head index of the Japanese differs from Koreans and Ainu, but resembles east Siberians, southern Chinese, Filipinos, Indo-Chinese, and the people of Borneo and Sumatra.

In 1950, 16 professors<sup>10</sup> of anatomy in the universities all over Japan cooperated in organizing an anthropometric team, which was subsidized by the Department of Education of the Japanese Government, and set out to measure again the college students all over the nation. The measurement went on through three years, covering over 280 places throughout the entire nation. The heads, faces, and entire skeletons of more than 30,000 males and 20,000 females were measured. The results fully corrected Dr. Matsumura's errors. The head lengths are 183-192 mm.; head breadths 145-156 mm. Except in two counties, Shiga and Aichi, few are below 184 mm. in head length. The head breadths of the former county are larger, and those of the latter, smaller. The Fukuoka county, however, has the exceptionally broad head measurement of about 149 mm. in breadth.

Dr. Gennin Hasebe, Honorary Professor of Northeastern University, a very high authority on ethnology and anthropometry and an author of several very authoritative books on the Japanese race, prepared an elaborate chart to show a comparative view of the Japanese people in physical measurement as compared with their nearby nations and races. That chart covers averages of maximum head lengths of 175 to 197 mm. and head breadths of 139 to 161 mm. I reproduce here a much smaller chart. Shorn of all measures too distant from those of the Japanese people, my chart covers only head lengths of 181 to 193 mm. and head breadths of 144 to 158 mm. Within the extra heavy lines drawn in the centrally placed area are the vast majority of the Japanese race.

From this chart it can be seen clearly and unmistakably that *the total area marking the measures of the vast majority of the Japanese nation is identically the same total area for the vast majority of the Chinese nation.* The Formosans found there were and are the descendants of the early Chinese settlers who migrated from the coastal provinces of continental China, except the Kaosha tribes (Japanese pronunciation "Takasago") who may have come from the Malaysian islands. Others within this area are Indonesians, Melanesians, Micronesians, Sundanese, Polynesians, Filipinos, Koreans, Mongols, and other Northern races of North East Asia. But if we examine very closely the population of these nations and the nature of these races, we find the following facts: In the Philippines no less than a half of the native population have Chinese

## THE VIET KINGDOM SINCE KOUCHIEN (468-379 B.C.)







blood to a greater or lesser degree. Between two and three million of Chinese are today living in Indonesia, Melanesia, including the Sundas, and they have lived there among the natives for generations. A mixing of Chinese blood is understood. In Korea, Mongolia, and Siberia, the mixing of the Chinese race with the natives of the land has been many centuries old. The Chinese strain among them should be manifest. Therefore, when these races have members with the same measurements as those of the Chinese, it is easily understood. We can conclude, therefore, that the Japanese area is principally and largely a Chinese area if not purely a Chinese area. Thus, combining the study of these 16 professors with Professor Kyono's study of ancient men, we get the answer that Yayoi people were most probably Chinese.

Dr. Hasebe has made very interesting special observations of the measurements. He stated that the head lengths and breadths of the Japanese race are precisely the same as those of the Kaosha and Formosan, some tribes of Burma, and the inhabitants of the Chinese Provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, and Anhwei. Of other Chinese Provinces, Honan, Shensi, and Szechwan, as well as Miaos and Lolos, all have slightly smaller breadths, Kuang-tung has smaller length and breadths.

Then, Dr. Hasebe stated that, generally speaking, the Japanese people resemble the Chinese people of the central and southern coastal provinces of China in the indices and shapes of their heads. So, he theorized that the very distant ancestors of the Japanese people probably once lived along the Chinese central and southern coast. But because the time of their departure was so very long ago, their language has become so very different.

Dr. Hasebe's findings remind us of a very interesting historical incident well known in China and in Japan. The Viet Kingdom in China once comprised, as its territory, the modern provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, eastern and southern Anhwei, a small portion of Kiangsi, and a strip of southern Shantung coast including Lang-ya (See Map 1)" as its capital 469-379 B.C. Being the capital, the city of Lang-ya was inhabited by the people of those provinces. Under the Ch'in Empire (221-207 B.C.), an enormously large goodwill mission consisting of thousands of people was once sent from Lang-ya to the East China Sea. This mission was recorded to have stopped at an island having "flat plains and great lakes, remained there, and never returned." In view of the overwhelmingly strong scientific evidence given above, it may be pertinent to review the history of that goodwill mission.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE GOODWILL MISSION

In the authentic court records of the Ch'in Empire, *Ch'in Chi*, it was recorded (according to Ssuma Ch'ien who wrote his *Shih Chi*, or "Historical Record," in 109-97 B.C. from the Ch'in Records then in his custody, he being the Head of Court Scribes of the Han Emperor) that in the year 219 B.C. a goodwill mission was sent by the Emperor of the Ch'in Empire from Lang-ya City to the Great Immortal Sovereign of the Eastern Sea. The Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary was a young savant

who was descended from the proud line of King Tan,<sup>12</sup> the "Prince of Hsü and the King of All the Yan States" (north of the Yangtze River up to mid-Shantung), who was famous for his most "benevolent and righteous administration" of his Principality and 36 Yan States. The Envoy was authorized by the Ch'in Emperor to conscript several thousands of young men and young women (from Lang-ya) and to commandeer all the necessary resources including grain seeds and livestock to be used in the sea islands, and to conscript the service of artisans of all trades, including navigators, of course. He was to command that body of persons to go over the sea and to deliver the personnel and supplies to the Spiritual Head of the Eastern Sea as a goodwill gift in order to request the latter for a grant of longevity herbs that he was reputed to have in his islands.<sup>13</sup> This was indeed a grandiose mission. The Emperor remarked in 212 B.C. that the mission cost his Empire "hundreds of millions in expense." In 210 B.C., His Excellency the Ambassador returned to Lang-ya, asking the Ch'in Emperor for a grant of "expert archers and mechanical bows" to clear the way of many shoals of big sharks, in order to bring back the longevity herbs. He was granted "equipment for catching big fish", and sent out again to complete the mission. The Ch'in Emperor died shortly after the Ambassador's departure. A revolution broke out in the following year, 209 B.C. The Ch'in Dynastic Government was overthrown in 207 B.C. One revolutionary leader, Liu Pang, succeeded in reunifying the Empire under his Han Dynasty in 202 B.C., which lasted more than four centuries, until 220 A.D.

The Ambassador's actual name, according to the Hsü genealogy, was little known. "Hsü Fu" was his assumed name for the purpose of outwitting the Ch'in Emperor. That Emperor had been King Cheng of Ch'in, a totalitarian of a magnitude that dwarfs a modern Adolf Hitler and rivals a Josef Stalin, and succeeded in conquering his six rival kingdoms in China by the same wicked tactics: propaganda, cheating, bribery, coercion, espionage, subversive "fifth columns", assassination, general terrorism, and finally armed conquests. He massacred hundreds of thousands of surrendered soldiers by burying them alive. Thus, in 10 years, 231-221 B.C., he conquered all the other six states and unified China into a unitary empire. After the unification, he undertook endless works by conscripted labor: (1) the building of the Great Wall 4,000 miles long across the northern border of the Empire, (2) the construction of Imperial highways all over the Empire, (3) the building of palaces with buildings spreading over 100 miles long in area. Young men were conscripted by the millions to labor on them, to die of hardships, exhaustion and diseases. Everywhere men fled. Many settlements of Ch'in refugees were formed beyond the Empire's border which extended in the south to modern Vietnam, in the north to the Great Wall, in the west to the Sinkiang border, and in the east to the Yalu River in Korea. It was to escape such tyranny and oppression that Hsü Fu, a wise, brave, resourceful and tactful young intellectual of far-seeing vision and great constructive statesmanship, sought successfully to outwit the great despot.

In early Han times, on one occasion, his near neighbor and junior contemporary, Wu Pei, testified on the witness stand of the Supreme Court of the Han Empire, saying: "Hsü Fu took a place of flat plains and great lakes, remained there, enthroned himself king, and never again returned." Wu Pei was for many years the commander-in-chief of

the State Army of the Principality of Hwainan, next to Lang-ya. It was his duty to maintain an intelligence net around his State. Perhaps he gathered his information from traders of this new country, evidence of which events are the many early Han mirrors unearthed from the tombs of Yayoi Japan. They had to purchase from the coastal marts necessary supplies which the new country could not yet produce.

Geographically, east of China only three islands have flat plains and great lakes, namely, Hokkaido and Honshu of Japan, and Luzon of the Philippines. But Hokkaido was too far north and Luzon was too far south to be reached by an east-bound voyage from Lang-ya. They were inaccessible. Besides, neither of them has had Ch'in-Han relics. Honshu was the only island of that description that was accessible and where the Ch'in time relics abound. On both sides of Yamato District there were the Biwa Lake of 674.8 square kilometers in area, which in early Japan was known as the "Near Fresh Water Sea" on its northwest and the Hamana Lake of 80.36 square kilometers in area, which in early Japan was known as the "Far Fresh Water Sea", on its southeast. Between the two lakes were nine plains, where was located the metropolitan region of Japan of Yayoi and Ancient Tomb culture. Here not only the topographical features coincide, but every other condition equally coincides, such as the time, the kind of relics, the kind of legends, the customs of the people, their cultural traditions, and most important of all, the physical measurements of the people; all these coincide to the last point. But Yamato was the capital of Jimmu Tenno, the founder of the Japanese Empire. Let us see whether His Majesty, Emperor Jimmu's story agrees with the history of His Majesty, King Hsü Fu.

#### THE JIMMU LEGEND EXAMINED

"Jimmu Tenno", meaning "The Divine and Brave Emperor", was a title conferred on the founder of the Japanese Empire by his descendant and the 46th successor to the throne, Empress Koken, 758-781 A.D. Before that he was known by various appellatives, but none can be called a name. For instance, the one chosen by *Nihon Shoki* to write his chronicle in 720 A.D., was "The Divine Mikoto, Chieftain of Iware (the name of a town) of Yamato". That chronicle began with his plan to conquer the mid-isle region for the purpose of making it his capital. The narrative continued with a naval mobilization from Hyuga (modern Miyasaki on the east Kyushu coast) to Oka River Mouth in the northern Kyushu coast. But archaeological excavations of many places in Hyuga that appeared in *Nihon Shoki* have proved that this part of the narrative was fictitious, because after many excavations were made, no early Yayoi relics have been found. But from Oka River Mouth on, the narrative gave five years of preparation for the eastern expedition, with two stops on the way, at Aki and at Kibi. The express purpose was to make weapons, to build more ships, and to accumulate food for the war of conquest. Finally, in the fifth year, the entire naval force moved forward. Many attempts were made at invading the objective, but they finally succeeded in landing in the east of Kii Peninsula on the Bay of Ise, and taking the mountain route, descending on the mid-isle region. In the last battle for the possession of the town of Iware, both battalions of men and battalions of women were deployed. The native chieftain of the region was

killed and the final objective was taken. A capital city was ordered built in the mountain basin, and given the name "Yamato", meaning a "Mountain Dwelling". This name later on was applied both to the city and to the larger area, and even to the Kingdom. The kind of civil government organized according to the narrative, was a feudal monarchy of the pre-Ch'in Chinese type. Moreover, Jimmu handed down the Three Imperial Regalia, of which Dr. K. Takahashi said:<sup>14</sup> the mirror was round, white, brass and the sword was steel. Mr. K. Iomoka charted<sup>15</sup> white brass mirrors as made in China in the Ch'in and the early Han time. Professor M. Goto identified Jimmu's second sword Futsunomitama, now in the Atsuta Palace, as an Early Han "ring-head" saber.<sup>16</sup> Now Ch'in and Early Han were Hsü Fu's time.

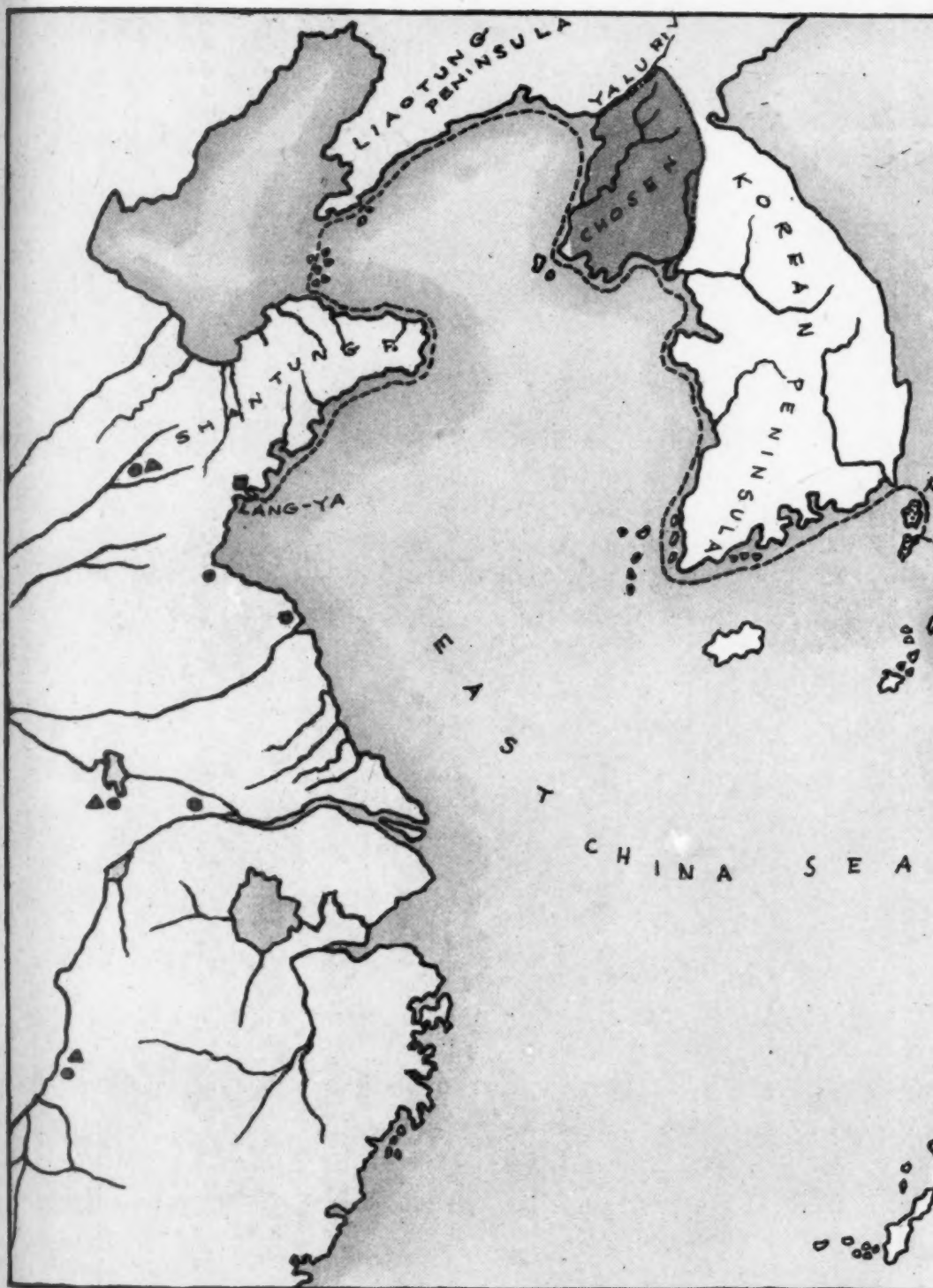
From Oka River Mouth eastward, the legend agrees largely with the archaeology. The Oka River type of Yayoi pottery is found all the way to the Kii Peninsula, from Ise to Yamato. Therefore, this part of the narrative was probably true to fact. A naval fleet was unusual, because in the pre-Han Far East, China was the only nation that was civilized enough to have a naval fleet, and the Ch'in Ambassador Hsü was the only person authorized by any sovereign to organize a naval fleet. Let us remember that China had complete records of all royal courts of pre-Ch'in. Now, Emperor Jimmu had a naval fleet. In those days of primitive Japan, the making of weapons and the building of more ships required artisans of special training and skill, and the accumulation of food required expert farmers. Ambassador Hsü had conscripted all that he needed. Now, Emperor Jimmu had them. Furthermore, it rarely happened that in war there was a women's battalion. But Ambassador Hsü had thousands of young women. Now, Emperor Jimmu had them. The manner in which he conducted his military campaign, organized his civil government, organized his religious worship, were well known to a Ch'in or pre-Ch'in Chinese intellectual. No other person had the opportunity that Ambassador Hsü had; but Emperor Jimmu had it.

When we consider the place, the time, the ways of doing things, the thoughts, and the many relics left underground, we cannot but conclude that His Majesty Emperor Jimmu could be no other person than His Majesty King Hsü who had been His Excellency the Ambassador of the Ch'in Empire. It was a *goodwill mission* indeed, because the Jomon savages of Japan were taken in as his own people, fed and clad and sheltered on a higher plane of life than they had ever enjoyed or even had fancied. They intermarried with the new-comers. They were respected as equals, not conquered as slaves. They were to enjoy a civilized life of which they never had dreamed.

To outwit a totalitarian despot needs no apology. His Majesty King Hsü or Jimmu Tenno, was indeed the "most benevolent and righteous sovereign," a rightful successor to the great glorious tradition of King Tan, Prince of Hsü, King of all the Yan States. He not only freed himself from slave labor, but also freed thousands of youths, artisans and seamen from the dreadful slavery, started a Utopia according to his own conception, and laid the foundation of a great empire. His enterprise was about one hundred times larger in scale than was the feat of bringing the *Mayflower* to America.









(c) 2 "one-knife" round coins, (d) 7 "half-liang" coins, (e) 3 "5-chu" coins, (f) 1 "big-money for 50" coin. Now, the first three (a), (b), (c) were Yen coins; (d) were Ch'in coins, (e) were Han coins, and (f) was a mid-Han time Wang Mang coin. These were unearthed with such iron implements as axes, hoes, and other iron remnants, with such bronze articles as arrowheads, bow-ears, belt-buckles, and stone moulds for casting bronze axes and other bronze wares, and with such stone implements as 6 stone arrowheads, 6 stone harvesting knives, 14 stone axes and 2 stone hammers. (See *Mu-Yang-Ch'eng* Excavation Report, Far-Eastern Arch. Soc., Tokyo-Kyoto, 1931)

II. Chih-feng of Jehol Excavations. This was also Greater Yen territory when Yen was at her height.

A. Leng-Shui-T'ang-Ch'eng Excavation. There the Yen-Ch'in styled tile-heads were unearthed with bronze arrowheads, iron axes, stone axes, stone knives and red pottery.

B. Pei-Hsiao-Ch'eng Excavation. There "Ming" knife coins and "one-knife" round coins were unearthed with stone axes, stone knives, smaller stone wares and a glass rod.

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III. T'ang-Shan of Hopei Excavations. This place was also Yen territory. The stone cists unearthed there were quite similar to those of Chih-feng of Jehol. The stone moulds for bronze casting were very similar to those of Mu-Yang-Ch'eng. The culture was therefore the same Yen-Ch'in culture as the other two places. Inside the cists were unearthed 3 stone axes and a copper ear-ring. (See *Ch. Arch. J.*, 1954 No. 7, pp. 77-86, and Plates I-VI.)

IV. Shih-Chia-Chuang of Hopei Excavation. This place was the territory of the Kingdom of Chao which was also annexed by Ch'in in 222 B.C. The excavation report states that at the time of excavation all the three strata had never been disturbed. The uppermost stratum was T'ang-Sung culture. The central stratum was Han culture. The third stratum, the lowest, was Ch'in and immediately pre-Ch'in. In this third cultural stratum, were found 3 square-footed and 1 point-footed bell form coins and 1 knife coin. All these coins were circulated in Chao before the Ch'in annexation, except the one square-footed bell form coin with the inscription of "Anyang" 安陽. The latter was a Ch'in coin minted in the Ch'in city of Anyang (which was the Chao city of Hsinchung before 236 B.C.) by the Ch'in authorities between 236 B.C. and 221 B.C. (after that year no coins were struck other than the

new standard "half-liang" round coin). Now, in this undisturbed stratum of Ch'in culture were found, besides the coins, iron, bronze as well as stone implements. They were 47 iron implements, a good number of bronze implements and 23 stone implements. The last were stone adzes, axes, chisels and knives. (See Ch. Arch. JI., 1957, No. 1, pp. 87-91)

V. Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai of Shantung Excavation. This place was the fief of the Viscount of T'an, surrounded by Ch'i and therefore fully Ch'i culture. It was annexed by Ch'in at the time when Ch'i was annexed by it in 221 B.C. In the excavation, two distinct cultural strata were dug into. The lower stratum was the black pottery culture of pre-Shang. The upper cultural stratum was that of Ch'in and pre-Ch'in. There a knife coin, supposedly of Ch'i, was unearthed with stone implements consisting of numerous stone adzes, axes, chisels and harvesting knives (Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Academia Sinica, 1934)

In the above review, I and II were in outlying places. There one may suspect that the stone implements might not belong to the Yen-Ch'in culture and that they might be the relics of the backward peoples native in those places. But when III, IV and V, all inland territories of the States of Chinese culture of many centuries standing, all had the same kinds of stone implements in the very Ch'in stratum, then no one should doubt that they were actually a part of the Ch'in Chinese culture. Therefore Ch'in Chinese could carry stone implements as well as painted pottery to Yayoi culture Japan.

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It is just announced by Professor Shosuke Sugihara (杉原莊介) of Meiji University (明治大學), Chairman of the Yayoi (彌生) Culture Special Committee of the Japan Archaeological Association, organized in 1951 with the cooperation of nine universities all over Japan, that by means of radioactive carbon-14 tests at Itazuke (板付) near Fukuoka (福岡) in Northern Kyushu, it has been found that the earliest Yayoi culture came to Kyushu in 300 B.C. From the measurement of the human skeletons, it is judged to have come from mainland China. Now, radioactive carbon-14 tests produce fairly accurate absolute dates, except in the cases of dates in the milleniums before Christ, an error of 100 years or less is usually allowed for each millenium B.C. Thus, in the test for an early Jomon (縄紋) Culture Moroiso (諸磯) canoe, the date was 3145 B.C.  $\pm$  400 (i.e. in 4th millenium B.C., an error is allowed  $4 \times 100$  more or less); for a Middle Jomon Culture Ana-no-Uchi (埴之内) wooden implement, the date was 2563 B. C.  $\pm$  300 (3rd m. B.C.,  $3 \times 100$ ); for a Later Jomon Culture Kemikawa (検見川) canoe the date was 1122 B.C.  $\pm$  180 (2nd m. B.C.,  $2 \times 90$ ). Therefore this Itazuke Yayoi culture dated 300 should also be allowed  $\pm$  90 years. Now Hsü Fu and his party of thousands left Lang-ya for the Eastern Sea in 219 B.C. (300—81=219). It exactly coincides in time with the result of the carbon-14 tests.

Tingsen S. Wei, March 27, 1958

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Every Chinese has the rightful pride in his success as the founder of a great nation, and for his company of young men and young women as the fathers and mothers of a great modern people who have proved to be the equals of any and all of the progressive peoples of the world.

The Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain has just visited President George Washington's memorials as that of her "second cousin seven times removed." When the "passing phase" of China is past, at some future day the President of China may have the opportunity to welcome a State visit from His Majesty, the Japanese Emperor, to the China Mainland to see the site of the Lang-ya Tower, where his glorious ancestor, Emperor Jimmu, first conceived the idea of this great nation of Japan. Let the world see that the Sino-Japanese friendship between the two great ancient Powers of the Far East can be just as warm as the Anglo-American friendship of the two great modern Powers of the Far West.

Chinese-Japanese Library  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.  
December 31, 1957

Tingsen, S. Wei

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#### ADDENDUM

To the question, how Ch'in China still had stone implements, I offered an explanation from two historical facts. That explanation may not satisfy the archaeologists. Now, I supplement it with more archaeological data, especially excavations and findings in China mainland.

I. Liaotung Peninsula Excavations. This was the territory of the Kingdom of Yen at its height, the Greater Yen (from early 3rd century to 222 B.C.). It was annexed by Ch'in in 222 B.C.

A. Pi-Tzu-Wo Excavation. At Ko-li-chai, the following bronze coins were unearthed: 1 "Ming" knife coin, 6 square-footed bell coins, 23 "one-knife" round coins, and one "half-liang" coin. The first three were Yen coins. The last, the "half-liang" round coin was a Ch'in coin. That excavated stratum was therefore a Yen-Ch'in culture stratum. With the coins were unearthed also iron, bronze and stone implements. The iron implements were axes, plowshares, scythes, chisels, nails and holed iron plates. The stone implements were: 1 ring-axe, 3 polished stone swords, 6 stone arrowheads, 3 stone axes, 18 stone harvesting knives, 7 stone chisel-axes, 3 stone spinning whorls, and 1 stone hammer. There was painted pottery among the pottery. (See Pi-Tzu-Wo Excavation Report, Far-Eastern Archaeological Society, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1929)

B. Mu-Yang-Ch'eng Excavation. There the following bronze coins were unearthed: (a) 14 "Ming" knife coins, (b) 4 "Ming knife" round coins,

(c) 2 "one-knife" round coins, (d) 7 "half-liang" coins, (e) 3 "5-chu" coins, (f) 1 "big-money for 50" coin. Now, the first three (a), (b), (c) were Yen coins; (d) were Ch'in coins, (e) were Han coins, and (f) was a mid-Han time Wang Mang coin. These were unearthed with such iron implements as axes, hoes, and other iron remnants, with such bronze articles as arrowheads, bow-ears, belt-buckles, and stone moulds for casting bronze axes and other bronze wares, and with such stone implements as 6 stone arrowheads, 6 stone harvesting knives, 14 stone axes and 2 stone hammers. (See *Mu-Yang-Ch'eng* Excavation Report, Far-Eastern Arch. Soc., Tokyo-Kyoto, 1931)

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IV. Shih-Chia-Chuang of Hopei Excavation. This place was the territory of the Kingdom of Chao which was also annexed by Ch'in in 222 B.C. The excavation report states that at the time of excavation all the three strata had never been disturbed. The uppermost stratum was T'ang-Sung culture. The central stratum was Han culture. The third stratum, the lowest, was Ch'in and immediately pre-Ch'in. In this third cultural stratum, were found 3 square-footed and 1 point-footed bell form coins and 1 knife coin. All these coins were circulated in Chao before the Ch'in annexation, except the one square-footed bell form coin with the inscription of "Anyang" 安陽. The latter was a Ch'in coin minted in the Ch'in city of Anyang (which was the Chao city of Hsinchung before 236 B.C.) by the Ch'in authorities between 236 B.C. and 221 B.C. (after that year no coins were struck other than the

new standard "half-liang" round coin). Now, in this undisturbed stratum of Ch'in culture were found, besides the coins, iron, bronze as well as stone implements. They were 47 iron implements, a good number of bronze implements and 23 stone implements. The last were stone adzes, axes, chisels and knives. (See Ch. Arch. Jl., 1957, No. 1, pp. 87-91)

V. Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai of Shantung Excavation. This place was the fief of the Viscount of T'an, surrounded by Ch'i and therefore fully Ch'i culture. It was annexed by Ch'in at the time when Ch'i was annexed by it in 221 B.C. In the excavation, two distinct cultural strata were dug into. The lower stratum was the black pottery culture of pre-Shang. The upper cultural stratum was that of Ch'in and pre-Ch'in. There a knife coin, supposedly of Ch'i, was unearthed with stone implements consisting of numerous stone adzes, axes, chisels and harvesting knives (Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Academia Sinica, 1934)

In the above review, I and II were in outlying places. There one may suspect that the stone implements might not belong to the Yen-Ch'in culture and that they might be the relics of the backward peoples native in those places. But when III, IV and V, all inland territories of the States of Chinese culture of many centuries standing, all had the same kinds of stone implements in the very Ch'in stratum, then no one should doubt that they were actually a part of the Ch'in Chinese culture. Therefore Ch'in Chinese could carry stone implements as well as painted pottery to Yayoi culture Japan.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

It is just announced by Professor Shosuke Sugihara (杉原莊介) of Meiji University (明治大學), Chairman of the Yayoi (彌生) Culture Special Committee of the Japan Archaeological Association, organized in 1951 with the cooperation of nine universities all over Japan, that by means of radioactive carbon-14 tests at Itazuke (板付) near Fukuoka (福岡) in Northern Kyushu, it has been found that the earliest Yayoi culture came to Kyushu in 300 B.C. From the measurement of the human skeletons, it is judged to have come from mainland China. Now, radioactive carbon-14 tests produce fairly accurate absolute dates, except in the cases of dates in the milleniums before Christ, an error of 100 years or less is usually allowed for each millenium B.C. Thus, in the test for an early Jomon (縄文) Culture Moroiso (諸磯) canoe, the date was 3145 B.C.  $\pm$  400 (i.e. in 4th millenium B.C., an error is allowed  $4 \times 100$  more or less); for a Middle Jomon Culture Ana-no-Uchi (埴之内) wooden implement, the date was 2563 B.C.  $\pm$  300 (3rd m. B.C.,  $3 \times 100$ ); for a Later Jomon Culture Kemikawa (検見川) canoe the date was 1122 B.C.  $\pm$  180 (2nd m. B.C.,  $2 \times 90$ ). Therefore this Itazuke Yayoi culture dated 300 should also be allowed  $\pm$  90 years. Now Hsü Fu and his party of thousands left Lang-ya for the Eastern Sea in 219 B.C. ( $300 - 81 = 219$ ). It exactly coincides in time with the result of the carbon-14 tests.

Tingsen S. Wei, March 27, 1958

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## NOTES

1. 直良信夫，日本先史時代之糧食文化，見雄山閣人類學先史學講座，卷六，p.125
2. 小學館，圖說日本文化史大系，1956版，第一冊，繩文、彌生、古墳時代 pp.200-201。
3. 梅原末治，日本考古學論考，p.272；後藤守一，日本考古學，p.219；末永雅雄，日本武器概說，p.53；水野清一，桃氏青銅劍，載在考古學會編之，鏡劍及玉之研究；駒井和愛，細形銅劍，載同書。
- 4a 史記，秦始皇本紀，二十六年下云，「收天下兵，聚咸陽，銷以為鐘鐻金人」。
- 4b 彌生式文化早期，大批使用木器。據每日新聞社（東京）1648年所印行之「登呂」（發掘報告）及所附之森豐著「登呂遺跡」內載，在大和唐古，與登呂及菅生三處地下發掘出土之木器，有下列各種類及數量：
  - (1) 容器類：①木桶一，②木鉢十七，③木豆十七，④木棗十二，⑤方木盤二，⑥長木盆十七，⑦木匙四，⑧木杓六。
  - (2) 耕器類：①木手鋤頭四，②木平鋤頭十六，③木馬鋤頭三，④木鋤八，⑤木犁頭四，⑥木斧三，⑦取稻木器二，⑧田舟二，⑨田履十二。
  - (3) 他木器：①豎杵十三，②木槌（*ノ*）十，③木篦十二，④木仿錘一，⑤木履五，⑥木索二，⑦木蓋二。
 而房屋，堤岸，溝渠，墓葬用木，不在上列範圍之內。
5. 陳捷譯，木宮泰彥，中日交通史、上、pp.50-51.
6. 史記朝鮮列傳
7. 山海經，卷十二，海內北經；
 

「蓋國在鉅燕。南倭北倭屬燕」。

「蓋國」即今蓋平縣地，在遼東半島之北。蓋國乃一土國，在中國郡縣內存在，如清代西南各省之土司。燕之舊封地，在河北省之北部。戰國時向內蒙及遼寧吉林擴展，其擴展部分稱「鉅燕」，合舊封稱「全燕」。史記朝鮮列傳云：「自始全燕時，當略屬真番（即遼東半島地）朝鮮（即箕王之朝鮮國，其他北至鴨綠江，南至禮成江口）為置吏築障塞（即要塞）。秦滅燕屬遼東外徼（謂境外屬地）。漢興，為其遠，難守，復修遼東故塞至溟水（鴨綠江）為界，（真番在遼東境內，朝鮮在界外），屬燕（朝鮮為燕王屬國）。」

以上史記之文，與山海經文全合。但日本學者或改山海經文之句讀為「蓋國在鉅燕南，倭北，倭屬燕」。

且曰，「倭屬燕」之「屬」，非作「從屬」解，當作「連屬」解。若依此說，則以「蓋國在鉅燕之南，而在倭之北」，則真番朝鮮皆倭地矣！若並謂「倭境與燕境連屬」，則並蓋國亦在倭境內矣！此說與從來記載無一相合，而與上文所引史記記載完全抵觸。故此曲說，不可採，而舊句讀為妥。全燕既已略屬真番朝鮮，而南倭北倭部落又自動歸屬全燕。顯然朝鮮先至，而北倭（在朝鮮半島之南端并韓之旁，見朝鮮列傳并韓下文）南倭（渡海而南之倭）後來。因此全燕時人已知通倭之陸（北倭）海（南倭）路線。



8. 雄山閣考古學講座，第一冊，清野謙次博士著民族論，第五章。
9. 松村賡博士說，NBT38, Vol. I, pp.19-21.
10. 十六教授計測與長谷部言人博士說，NBT56, Vol. I, pp. 96-98.
11. 越王國圖，合歐陽纓，箭內互，二讀史地圖。
12. 徐時棟，徐偃王志，第二世系圖表。又衛挺生，日本神武開國新考補編篇一
13. 史記，秦始皇本紀，又，淮南衡山列傳
14. 高橋健自，鏡卜劍卜玉
15. 富岡謙藏，古鏡の研究 p.197
16. 雄山閣，考古學講座，第十冊，p.197 後藤守一氏文

## REFERENCE FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

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| 3. Katsusaka Style, Echigo, | Page 163 |
| 4. Katsusaka Style, Etchu,  | Page 163 |

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| 2. Smaller Flint, Hida,    | Page 137 |
| B. Fishing Hooks, Rikuzen, | Page 156 |

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	II. " "	Plate	77	"	7
	III. " "	"	19	"	5
	IV. " "	"	109	"	1
	V. " "	"	77	"	6
	VI. " "	"	82	"	4
	VII. " "	"	10	"	273B
B. Axis:	I. " "	"	103	"	1
	II. " "	"	"	"	2
	III. Hsiao-T'un Pottery	P.	6 App. I, (1)	Fig.	62
	IV. " "	" "	" " " "	"	50
	V. Hui Report	Plate	109	Fig.	4
	VI. " "	"	77	"	5
	VII. " "	"	75	"	7

**PLATE V.**

- C. Axis: I. Hsiao-T'un Pottery P. 6 App. 1 Fig. 44.  
 II, III, IV. " " Corpus, Figs. 180E, 180F, 150C.  
 V, VI, VII. " " P. 6, App. I Figs. 41, 40, 38.
- D. Axis: I, II, III, VI, VII. Hsiao-T'un Pottery P. 6, App. I Figs. 27, 148, 229, 29, 212.  
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- E. Axis: I, II, III. Hsiao-T'un Pottery p. 6 App. I, Figs. 31, 20, 147.  
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 V, VII. " " " Corpus Figs. 167A, 135E.

- F. Axis: I, II. Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai Plate XVIII. Fig. 2.  
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- PLATE VI. A. NBT, 38, Vol. I, P. 223.  
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 Plate 16, Yayoishiki jar unearthed in Shinzawa, Yamato.  
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 " 3, 5. " X. 3, 1.  
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 Figs. 5, 7, 8, Chinese Archeology Journal, No. 1, 1956, Loyang Chien-  
 pin Excavation Report, Plate VII, 5, 2, 3.  
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- PLATE XIV. Fig. 1. NBT, 1938, Vol. II, P. 6.  
 Fig. 2. From Hsiao-T'un Pottery App. I, 2.  
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Fig. 6. *Karaka Report*, Plate 32, 464.

Figs. 7, 8. NBT, 1956, Vol. I, P. 227, Fig. 313.

PLATE XV. A. NBT, 38, Vol. I, P. 219.

B. *Anyang Excavation Report*, Illust. 5. Similar findings also in *Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai Excavation Report*, for Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Lich'eng, Shan-tung.

PLATE XVI. A, B. NBT, 38 Vol. I, pp. 222, 221.

PLATE XVII. A. *K'aoku Hsueh Pao* (Chinese Archeological Journal), Vol. 10, 1955, Plate V, 1, 2, 4, Anyang, Yin.

3, Hui Hsien, Liu-li-ko, Yin.

B. *ibid.* Plate IV.

1. Yangshao, Honan, Pre-Yin.

2. Minch'in, Kansu, Pre-Yin.

3, 4. Hung-Shan-Hou, Jehol, Yin-Chou.

5. Liangchia Tien, Liao-ning, Yin-Chou.

6. Port Arthur, Liao-ning.

PLATE XVIII. A. Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden, No. 15, Fig. 121.

B. Chinese Archeology Journal, Vol. 10, 1955, Plate VIII.

PLATE XIX. A. NBT, 38, Vol. 1, P. 224.

A'. Left 1, Hui Report, Plate XVI. 18.

Right 2-4, *Chengchou Er-li-kang Excavation Report*, Chinese Archeology Journal, 1954, 8, by An Chih-min, Plate XII.

B. Toro, Plate 62, (5, 6).

B'. Chinese Arch. Journal., 1956, 2 *Ch'ing-Kiang (Kiangsi) Excavation Report*, Plates V, X.

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PLATE XXI. A. NBT, 38, Vol. I, P. 237.

B. Chinese Arch. Journal, Vol. 7, 1954, P. 86, Plate IV.

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B. Yung Keng, *Shang Chou Yi Ch'i T'ung K'ao*, Vol. II, p. 496, Fig. 944. The "Tiger Bell" of Chou.

C. *Anyang Ta-Szu-K'ung Village Excavation Report*, Plate XV, Fig. 1, in Chinese Arch. Journal, No. 9, 1955, A Yin bell,

- D. The Excavation Report of a tomb of the Warring States period, in Shou Hsien, Anhwei, two rows of serial music bells. The "*Materials for Cultural Studies*," 1955, No. 8, p. 37, Plate 13. Peiping.

PLATE XXIV. A. A Stone Cist, NBT, 38, Vol. I, p. 245.

B. Chinese Arch. Journal, Vol. 7, 1954, opp. p. 86, Plates I, II.

C, D. *K'ao Ku T'ung Hsun*, 1955, No. 4, Plate VII, 1, 2, Han brick tomb, Wenhsi, Shansi.

E, F. Chinese Arch. Journal, 1956, No. 1, opp. p. 28, Plate IX, 5, 6.

PLATE XXV. A, B, C. *Suku Excavation Report*, pp. 63, 74.

D, F. *K'ao Ku T'ung Hsun*, 1955, No. 1, Plate XII, 1.

E. Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai Report, Plate LIV.



# I: JAPAN'S JOMONSHIKI POTTERY

## A. Earlier types.



1.



2.

## B. Later types.



3.



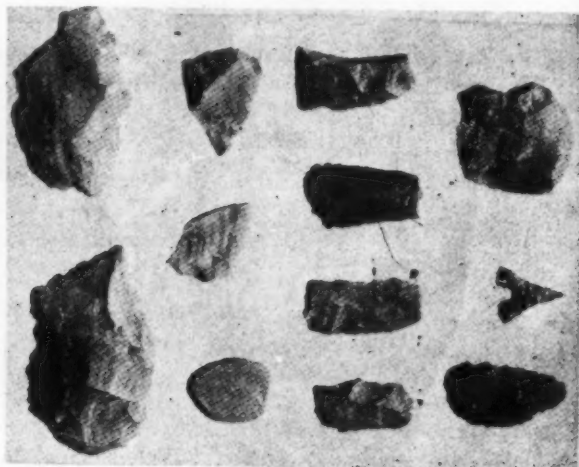
4.

## II: OTHER TYPICAL RELICS OF JOMON CULTURE

### A. Stone implements and weapons.

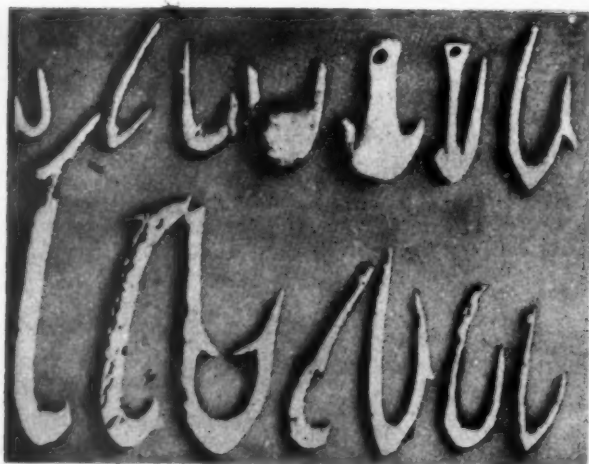


1.



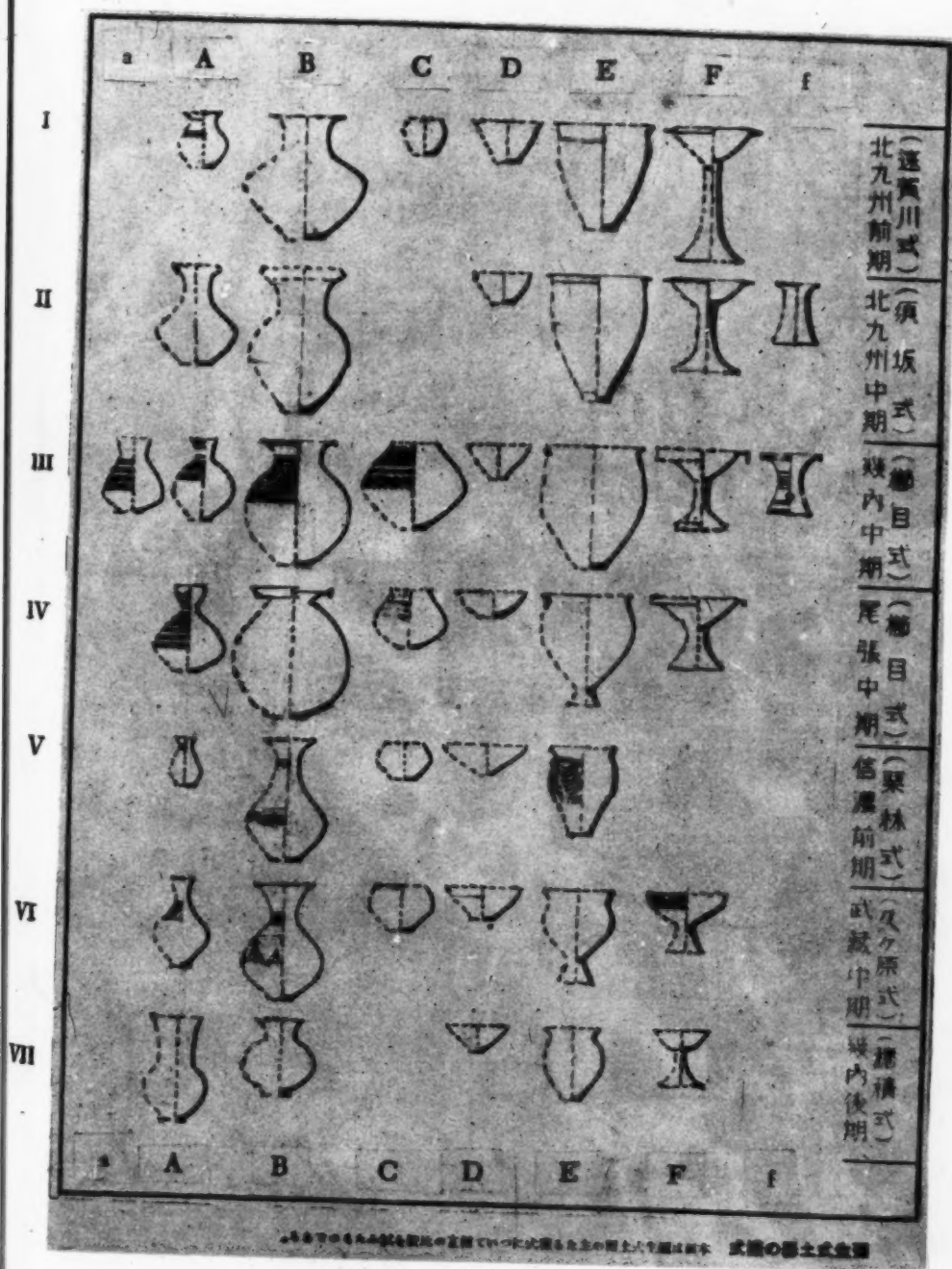
2.

### B. Bone implements—fishing hooks.



3.

### III: JAPAN'S YAYOISHIKI POTTERY AND TYPES



# IIIA: CHINESE POTTERY OF THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (403-221 B.C.)

East Suburb, Loyang, Honan.

Shaokou, Loyang, Honan.

A  
B  
hu



Ch. Arch. JI., 1956, 4. p. 44



Ch. Arch. JI., 1954, 8. p. 150

C  
fu



ibid. p. 45



ibid. p. 146

D  
po  
wan



ibid. p. 44



ibid. p. 146

E  
kuang  
weng

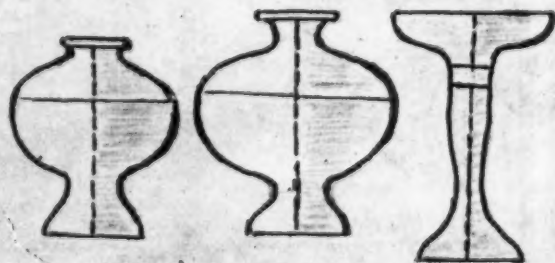


ibid. p. 43

F  
ton

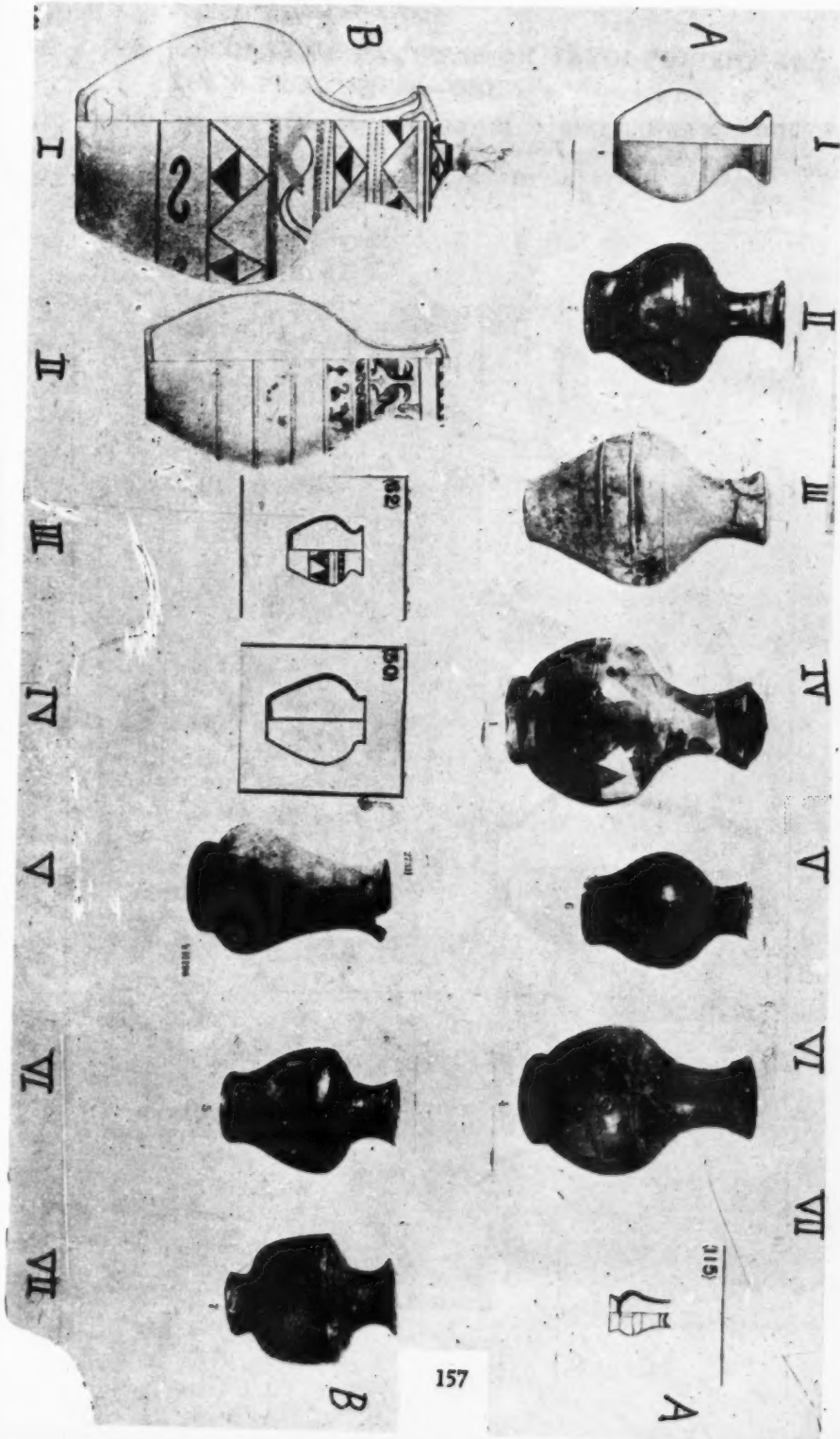


ibid. p. 54, Plate V



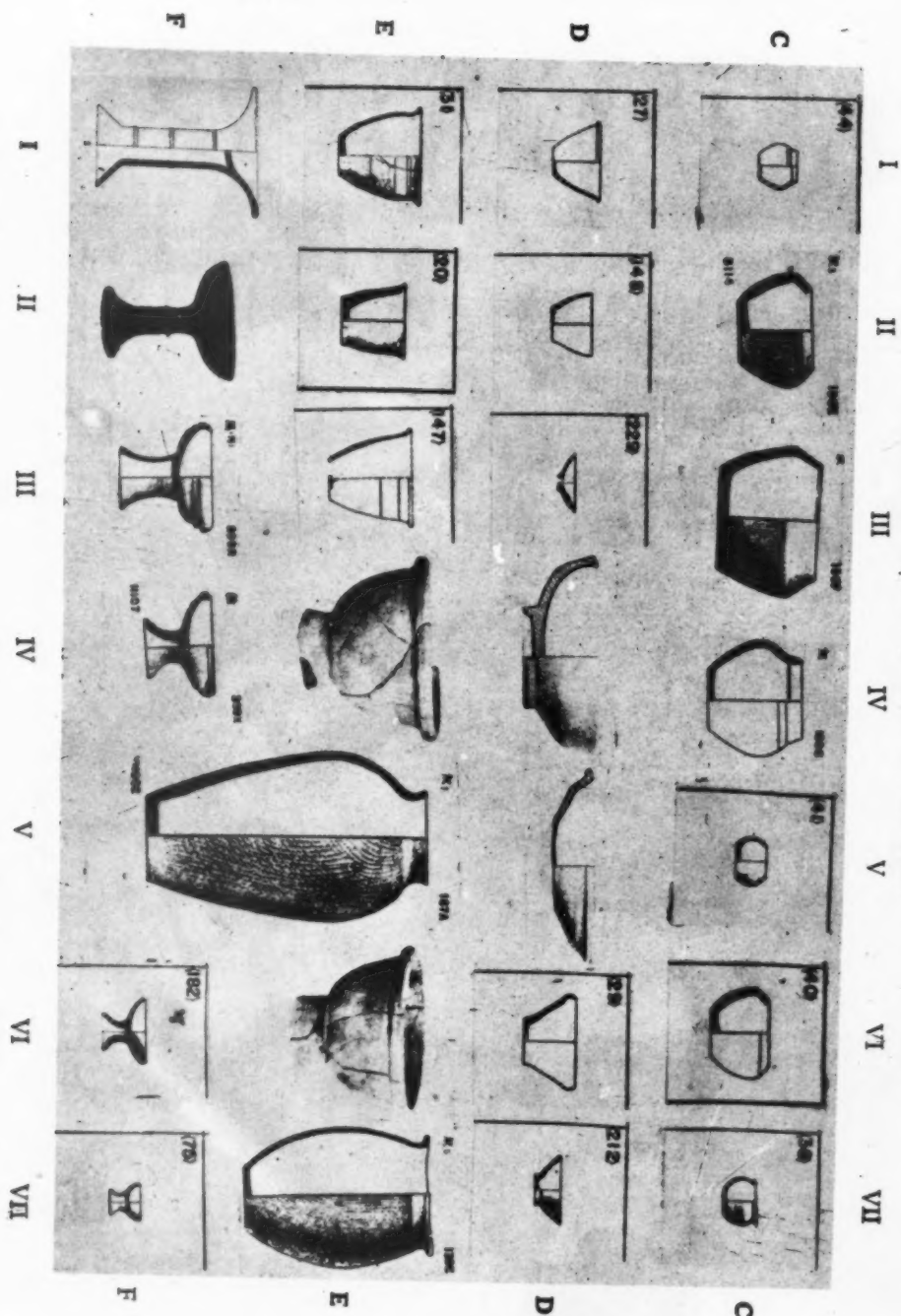
ibid. p. 148

IV: CHINESE PROTOTYPES OF YAYOI POTTERY—ONE  
 Chinese pottery (ca. 1600 B.C.—ca. 200 B.C.)





V: CHINESE PROTOTYPES OF YAYOI POTTERY—TWO  
Chinese pottery (ca. 1600 B.C.—ca. 200 B.C.)

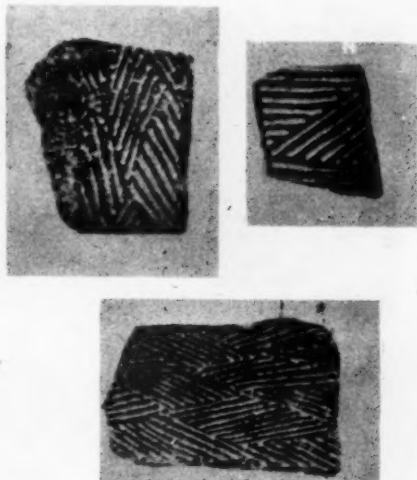


# **VI: DECORATIVE PATTERNS ON YAYOI POTTERY AND THEIR PROTOTYPES—ONE**

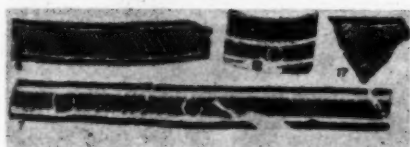
A. A Yayoi vase with comb-brush decorative patterns.



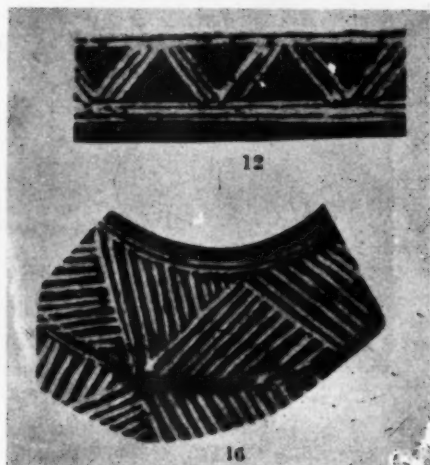
B. Other Yayoi comb-brush patterns.



A'. Their prototypes in Yin Anyang, Honan, China.

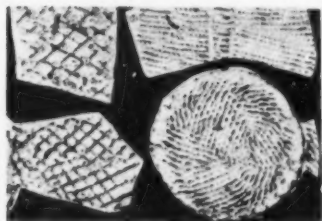
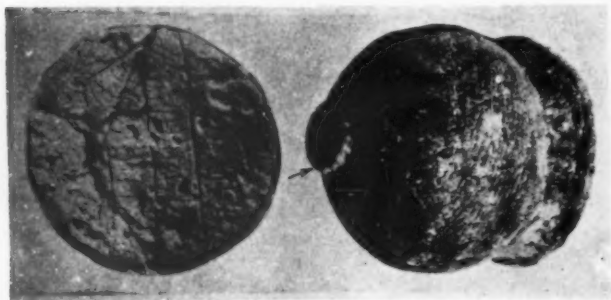


B'. Their prototypes in pre-Ch'in Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Shantung, China.



# VII: DECORATIVE PATTERNS ON YAYOI POTTERY AND THEIR PROTOTYPES—TWO

- A. Japan: A Yayoi pot impressed with rice-husks B. China: similar decorative patterns on Yin-Chou pottery found in Anyang.



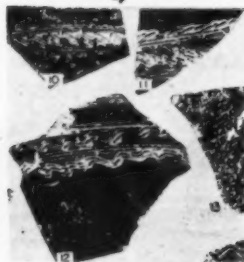
- C. Japan: A Yayoi jar fully decorated with lines following Chinese patterns. D. China: similar Anyang pottery patterns.



3



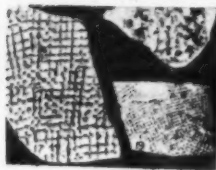
4



5



6



7

# VIII: CHINESE YIN-CHOU PATTERNS ON POTTERY



Note the patterns:

- (1) round spiral (or *yün* "cloud", or *wo* "whirlpool") in Figs. 11, 17.
- (2) square spiral (or *lei* "thunder") in Figs. 13, 14a, 14b, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d.
- (3) face-shaped (or *tao-tieh chiao* "voracious face corner") in Figs. 12, 14a, 15, 16, 20
- (4) T-shaped (*fu*<sup>3</sup> "axe") in Figure 21.
- (5) S-shaped (*fu*<sup>2</sup> "double hook in opposite directions") in Figure 18.

IX: DECORATIVE PATTERNS ON YAYOISHIKI PAINTED  
POTTERY, KARAKO, YAMATO



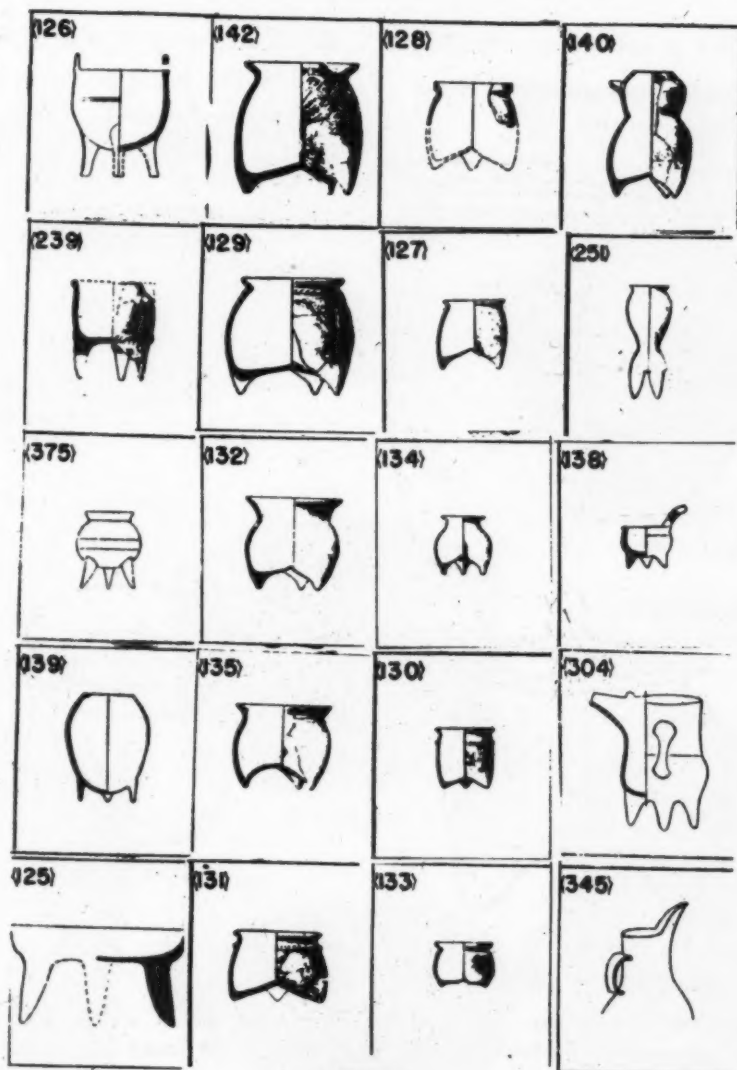
Figure 1: Round spiral, S-shaped and face-shaped.

Figs. 3,4,5,8: Square spirals.

Figs. 6,7,9,10,11: T-shaped.



**X: CHINESE PRE-CH'IN COOKING POTTERY USED ABOVE GROUND**



**XA: TRIPODAL COOKING POTS THROUGH CHOU  
(1122-255 B.C.) PERIOD**

- A. Types of *li* of early Chou (1122-770 B.C.) as found in P'utu, Changan, Shensi
- B. *Li* and *tseng* of Warring States period (430-221 B.C.) as found in the east suburb of Loyang, Honan.



Ch. Arch J1. 1954, 8.

p. 126, Plate VII, Figs. 1, 2.

The comparative importance of *li* as a daily useful utensil in the later part of Chou is apparent in the following table of pottery sherds found in the east suburb of Loyang excavation:

Vessels, kind of	<i>li</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>tou</i>	others
Potsherds number	500	193	210	96	110
Estim. no. of vessels	50	40	40	31	

*ibid.* p. 39

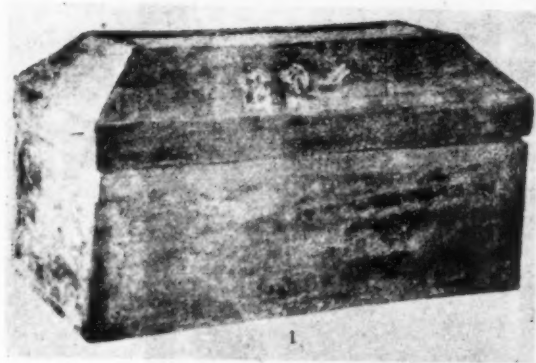
In Paisha, Yü Hsien, Honan in the tombs of the Warring States period, every tomb contained at least one *li*.

164 *ibid.* 1954, 7. p. 92.

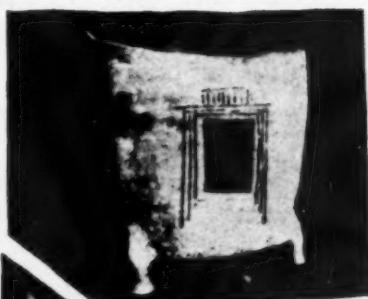
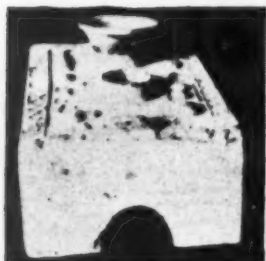


Ch. Arch. J1 1956, 4.  
p. 54, Plate V. 10, 11.

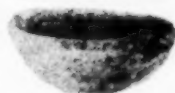
**XI: CHINESE POTTERY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HAN  
PERIOD—ONE, MISCELLANEOUS**



**XII: CHINESE POTTERY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HAN PERIOD—TWO, COOKING STOVES AND VESSELS**



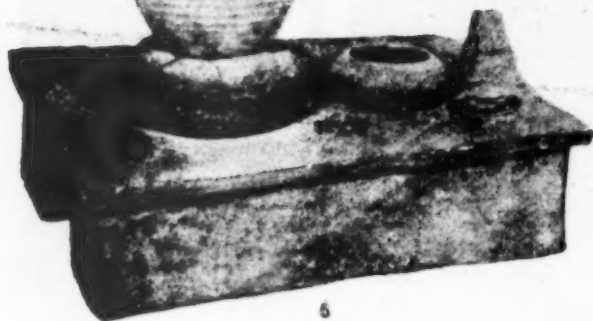
7



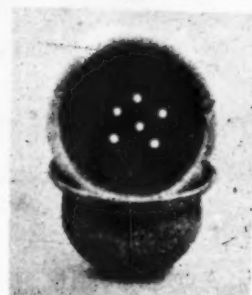
8



6



6



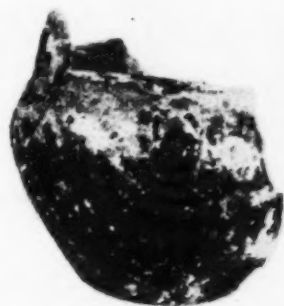
**XIII: CHINESE COOKING VESSELS AND STOVES OF CHOU, CH'IN AND EARLY HAN**



1. 春秋时的陶甗



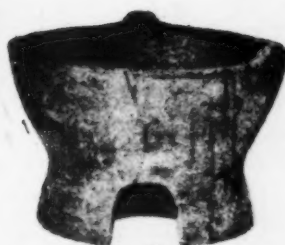
2. 春秋时的陶甗



1b



5a



5b



2. 土灶



3. 土灶



#### XIV: JAPAN'S YAYOI COOKING VESSELS AND STOVES

A. Yayoi cooking pots and dishes, unearthed from Kashiwara Palace grounds, Yamato, Japan.

A Their prototypes from Yin times Anyang, Honan, China.



1



3



2



5



4



6

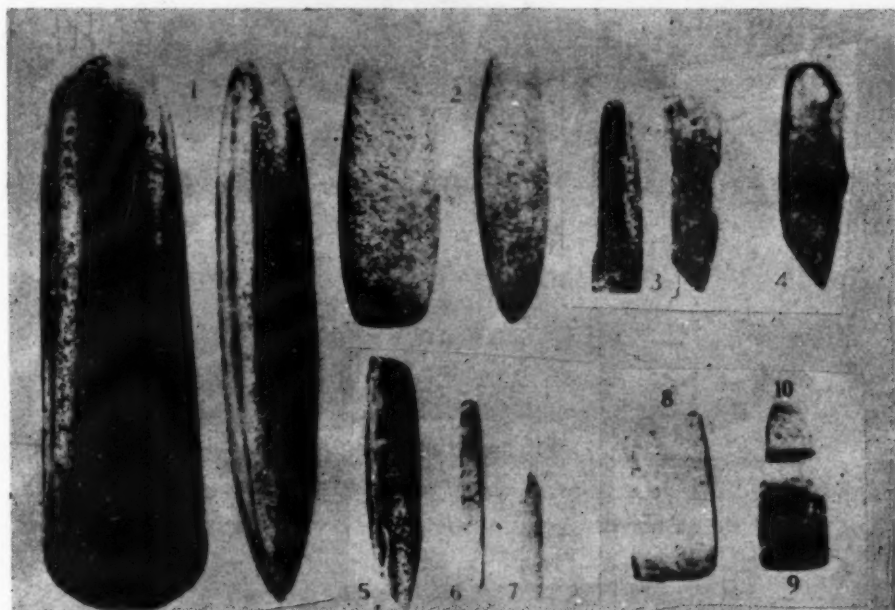


7

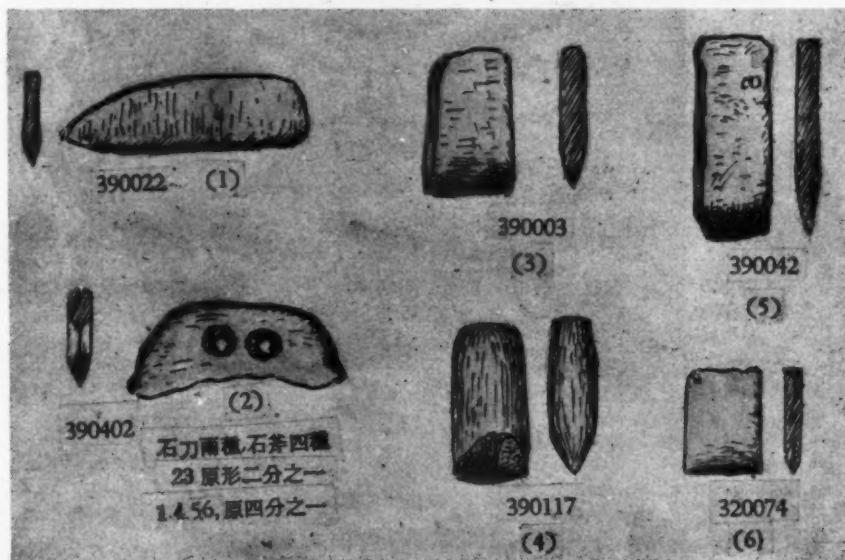
8

# **XV: JAPAN'S YAYOI STONE ADZES, AXES AND CHISELS & THEIR CHINESE PROTOTYPES**

A. Japan's Yayoi stone adzes, axes and chisels.



B. Their Yin-Chou Chinese prototypes.

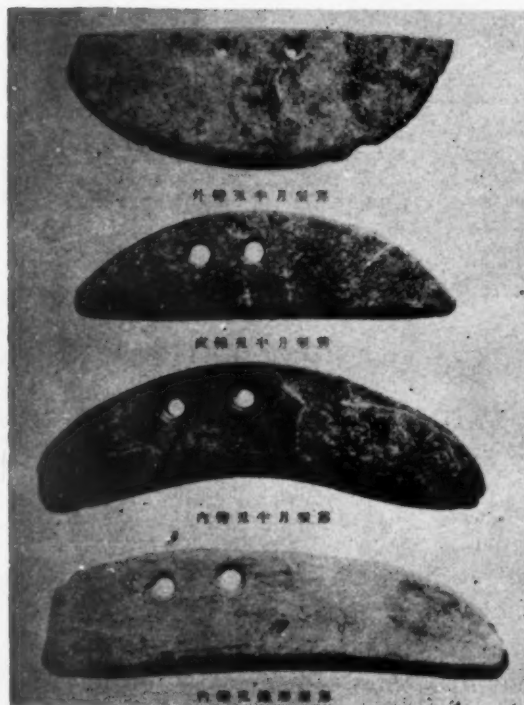


# **XVI: JAPAN'S YAYOI STONE SCYTHES AND KNIVES**

## **A. Stone scythes.**

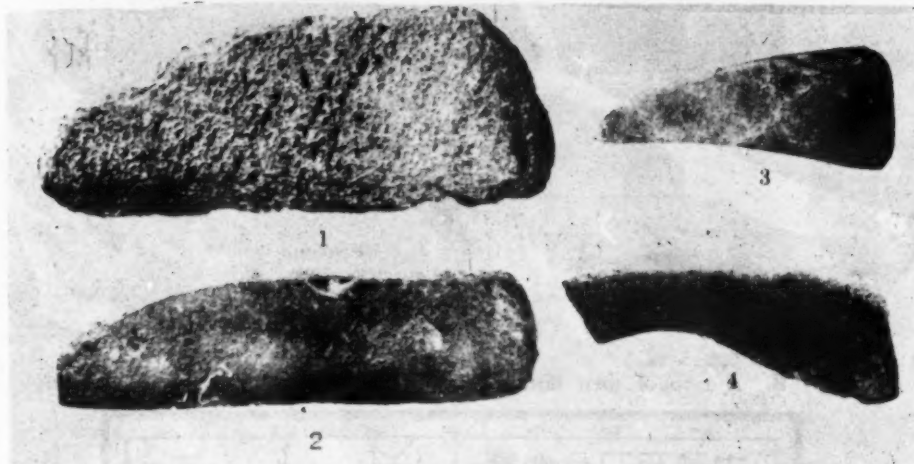


## **B. Stone knives.**

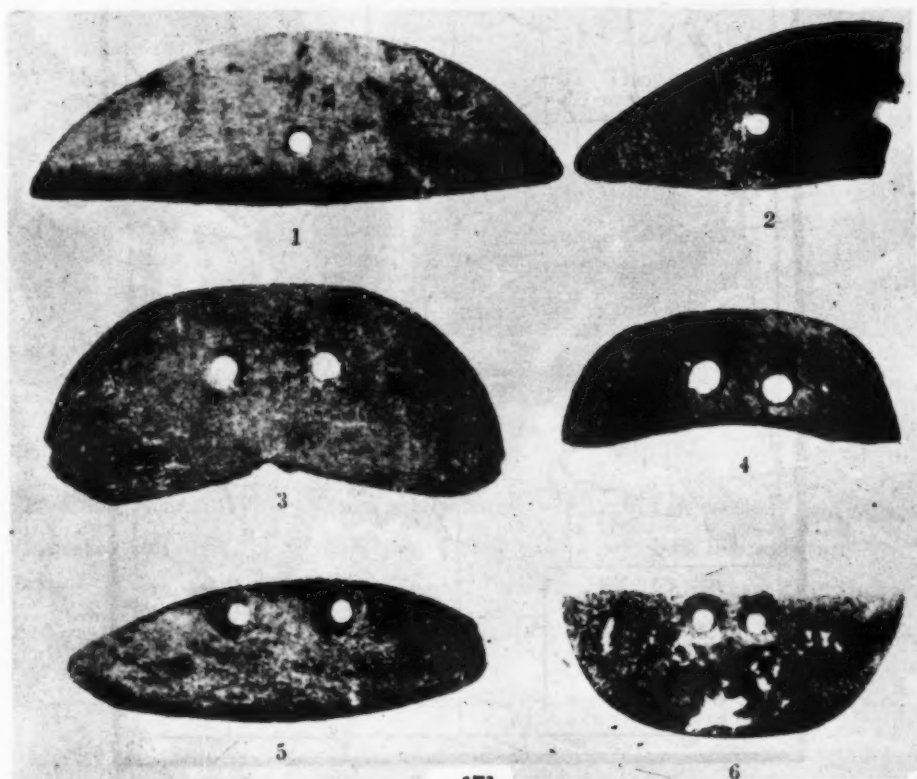


**XVII: CHINESE PROTOTYPES OF YAYOI STONE SCYTHES  
AND KNIVES**

**A. Chinese stone scythes.**

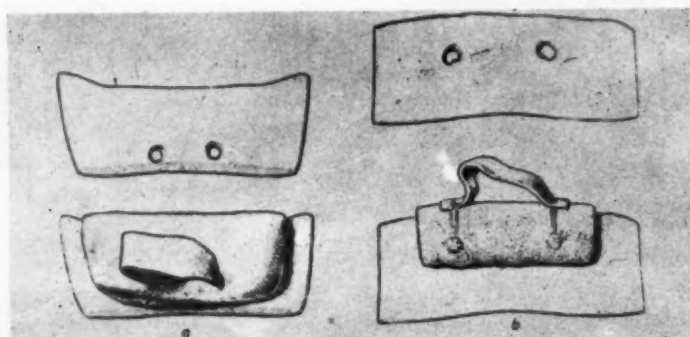


**B. Chinese stone harvesting knives.**

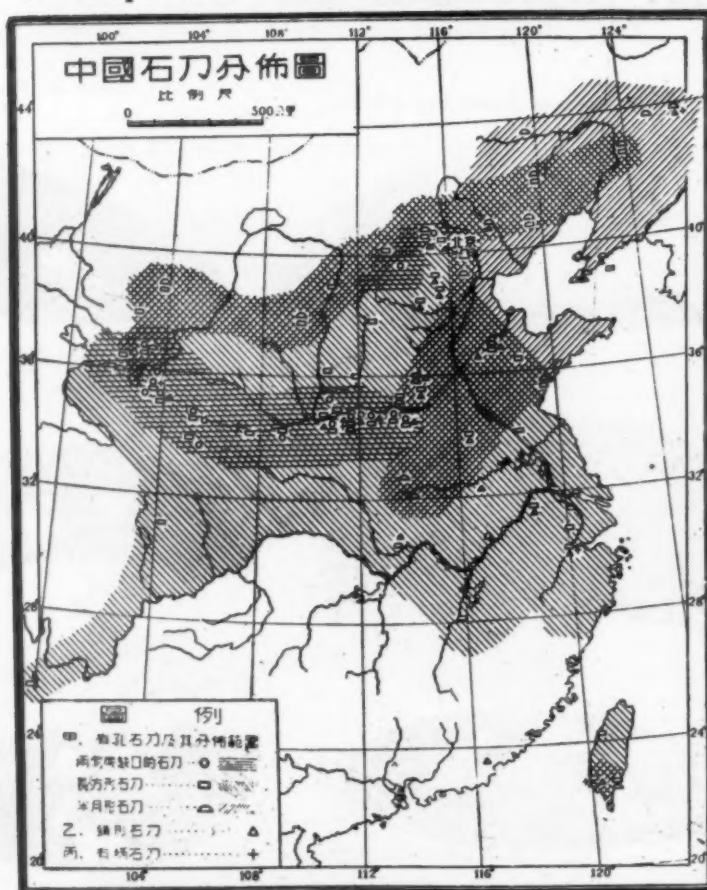


# XVIII: SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON CHINESE STONE KNIVES

## A. The use of the two holes demonstrated.



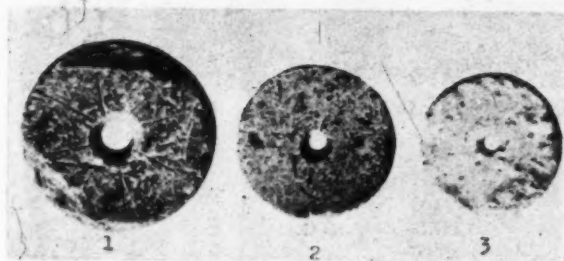
## B. A map of their distribution in China.





# **XIX: MINOR YAYOI IMPLEMENTS AND THEIR PROTOTYPES**

## **A. Yayoi spinning whorls in Japan.**



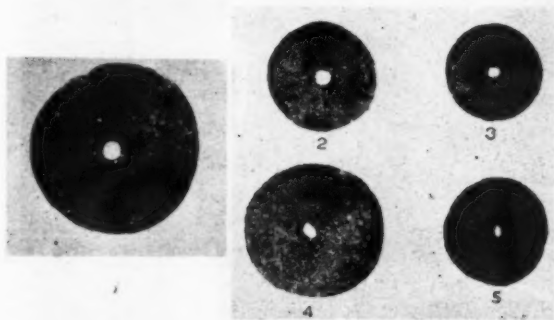
Nos. 1 and 2: Stone, No. 3: Pottery.

## **B. Yayoi fishing-net weights.**



Nos. 5 and 6: Both stone, found in Toro, Japan.

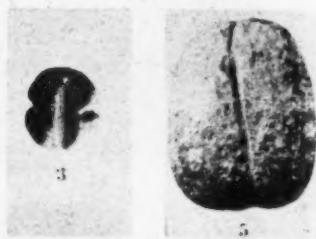
## **A'. Their prototypes in pre-Ch'in China.**



1. Pre-Ch'in, stone.  
Liu-li-ko, Hui  
Hsien, Honan.

2-4. Yin-Chou, pottery,  
Er-li-kang, Cheng  
Chou, Honan.

## **B'. Their prototypes in pre-Ch'in China.**



Left, pottery; right, stone;  
both unearthed at  
Ch'ingkiang Kiangsi.

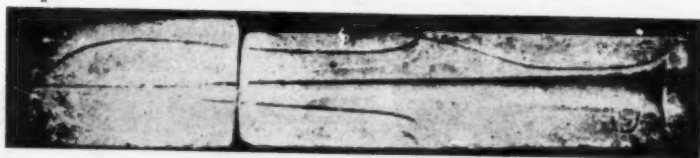
XX: OTHER YAYOI REMAINS FROM KARAKO, YAMATO, JAPAN



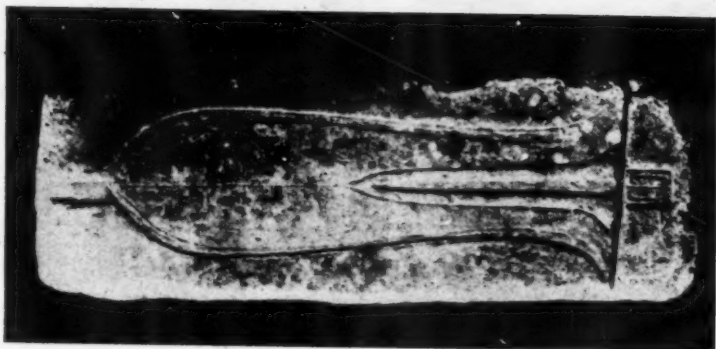
# XXI: STONE MOLDS FOR BRONZE CASTINGS

A. Yayoi Japan:

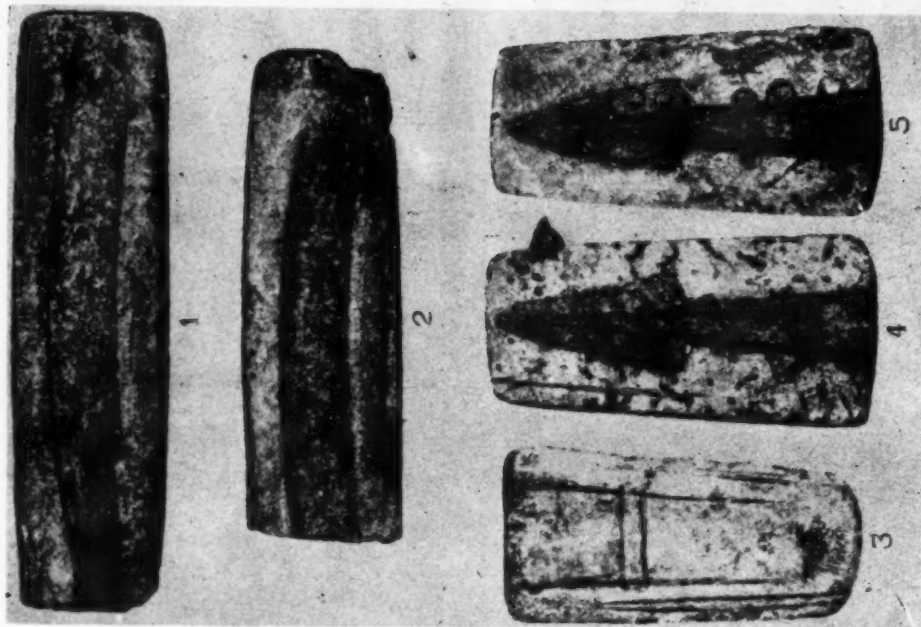
1. Mikumo, Chikuzen.



2. Suku, Chikuzen.



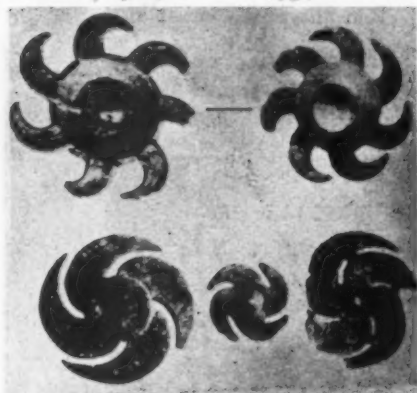
B. Pre-Ch'in China:



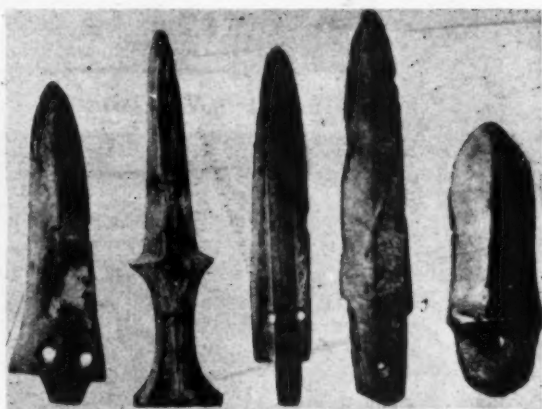
These molds are found with pre-Ch'in pottery and stone cist burials near Tangshan, Hopei.

## XXII: YAYOISHIKI WEAPONS AND WHEELS AND THEIR CHINESE PROTOTYPES

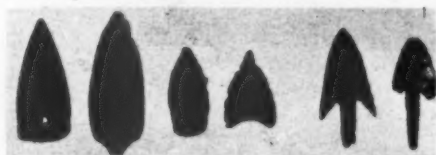
A. Japan's Yayoi swastika wheels.



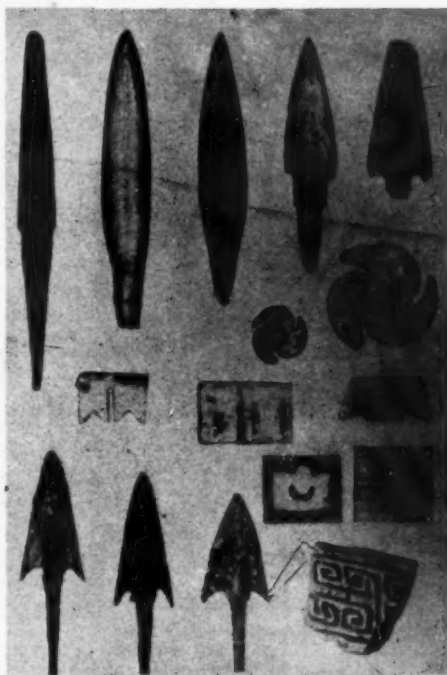
B. Japan's polished stone weapons.



C. Japan's stone & bronze arrow-heads.



E. Anyang Yin swastika wheels and bronze arrow-heads.



D. Anyang Yin bronze halberds & spear.



### XXIII: JAPAN'S YAYOISHIKI BRONZE BELLS AND THEIR CHINESE PROTOTYPES

A. Japan's Yayoi bronze bells.



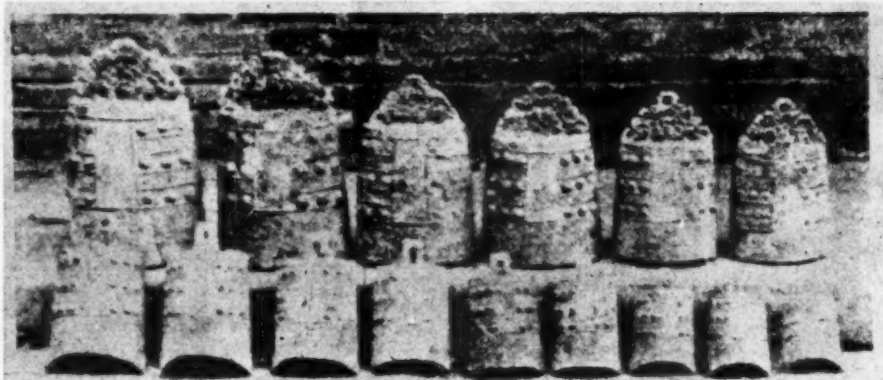
B. Chinese Chou tiger bell.



C. Chinese Anyang Yin bell.



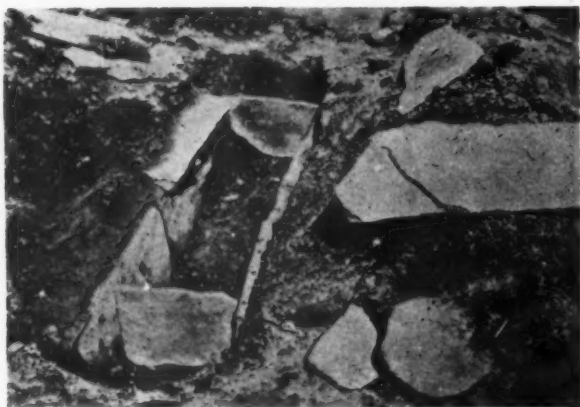
D. Pre-Ch'in Chinese octave music bells.





# **XXIV: JAPAN'S STONE CIST BURIALS, THEIR CHINESE PROTOTYPES AND COMPARISONS**

**A** Japan: Yayoishiki stone cist and cover.



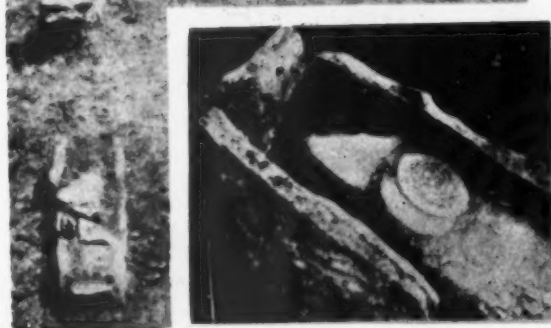
**C** Han brick tomb, Wenhsi, Shansi, China



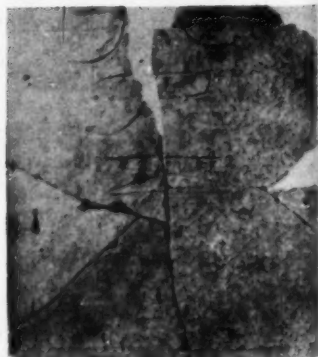
**B** China: Pre-Ch'in stone cists from Tangshan, Hopei.



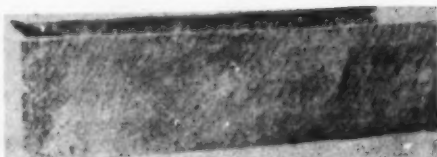
**D** An open view of the tomb.



**F** Han pottery coffin cover.



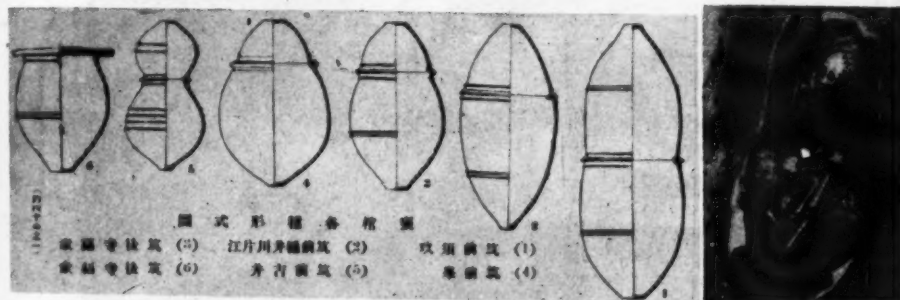
**E** Han pottery coffin.



## XXV: JAPAN'S YAYOISHIKI CISTERN BURIALS AND THEIR CHINESE PROTOTYPES

A. Yayoi cistern burials, Kyushu, Japan.

D. Yangshao c.b., China.



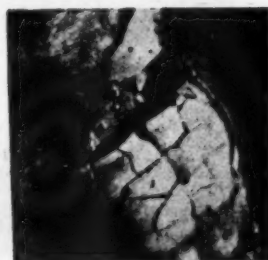
B. Unearthing a c.b. in Suku, Kyushu.

E. Pre-Ch'in c.b. in Ch'eng-Tzu-Yai, Shantung, China.



C. Yayoi c.b. in other places in Japan.

F. An early Han c.b. in Liaoyang, China.



## XXVI: CISTERN BURIALS IN MANCHURIA AND KOREA

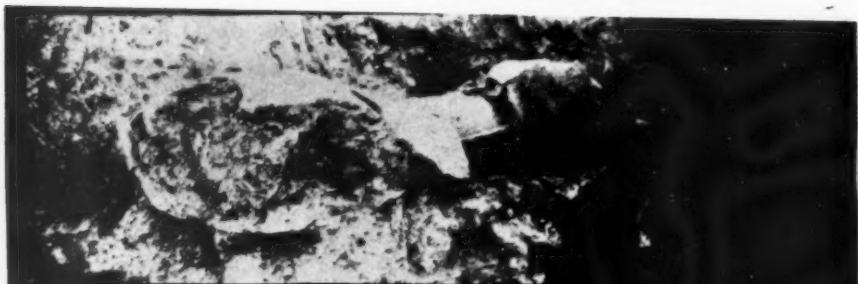


Fig. 16a. Mu-yang Cheng, Manchuria (Suku Report, p. 68; Plate 28.2)

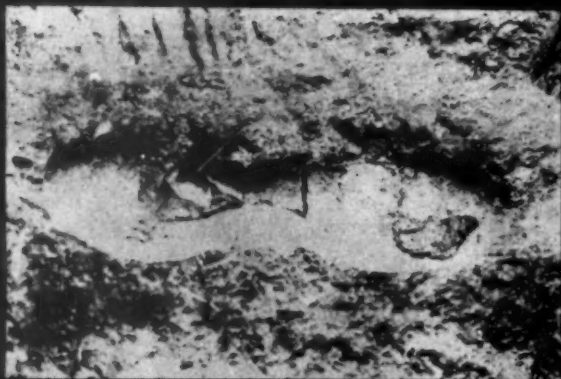


Fig. 16c. Banamsyn, Naju, S. Korea (Suku Report 5. 68 Plate 28.3)

## Sino-Indian Relations over the Chiao-Kwang Route

and

NEW DISCOVERIES ON BUDDHISM AND ITS ART IN THE  
KWANGTUNG-KWANGSI AREAS IN THE TANG DYNASTY

*By Lo Hsiang-lin* 羅香林

Buddhism and Buddhist art flourished in different parts of India at various dates. Their introduction into China occurred at various times via different routes, and their dissemination in China was also subjected to the historical and cultural influences of different areas among which sometimes very wide differences existed. As a result, Buddhism as taken up in China has assumed varied forms, containing differences in doctrinal teachings, simplicity or complexity of rites, and attainments in artistic expression and style. To confine oneself to their manifestations in a single locality or at a specified period of time, or through the introductions from a specific route, and thereby to hope for a comprehensive understanding of Buddhism and Buddhist art in the whole of China must lead one to faulty conclusions and inadequate appreciation. This fact must be admitted by anyone who has indulged but to a small extent in the study of the history of Chinese Buddhism. It is indeed fully taken cognizance of by students of Buddhism and Buddhist art in China, who realize rightly that, in addition to a historical and chronologically tabulated study of the evolution and progress, a regional survey of local developments must also be undertaken in order to arrive at an understanding of the changes and deviations in their nature occasioned by the separations in space.

During the period of nearly one thousand years from the early days of the Han dynasty to the later stages of the T'ang dynasty, Indian Buddhism and Buddhist art were introduced into China through four principally known routes: the Tun Huang route (敦煌道), the Yung Chang route (永昌道), the Chiao Kwang route (交廣道), and the Tsing Chou route (青州道). The sectarian differences in Buddhist doctrine and art, as carried to China via these respective routes were from the very beginning marked by special intrinsic characteristics. During the process of transmission en route, alien cultures must have been absorbed, and after arrival in China, local historical and environmental influences would also produce effects which could not but tend to in-

tensify the original inherent differences. Earlier authorities on the subject of the historical development of Chinese Buddhism had elucidated extensively on the evolution of Buddhism in India in succeeding ages, its introduction into China and dissemination in this country. Their findings and conclusions are of course invaluable for the enlightenment of the later ages and the fullest credit is due them. And yet it seems to me that such studies had mostly been confined to researches conducted on a vertical basis, consisting generally of chronological analysis. Lesser efforts, it seemed to me, had been exerted in the study of conditions relating to the evolution of the different transmission routes, and to regional analyses of the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist art. Why was this so? The answer may be found in the need for investigations on the spot in regional studies, and these depend to a large extent on opportunities for visits to the regions concerned. Where such opportunities to visit the involved areas are not available, no investigations on the spot can be undertaken, and where data are inadequate, conclusions cannot be easily drawn. With these limitations, past scholars could only devote their primary attention to the clarification of the general trends of development, and it must not be presumed that they did not understand the importance of regional research.

Personally I am not an accomplished student of Buddhist history and the development of Buddhist art. Neither did I have any opportunity to undertake investigations on the dissemination of Buddhism through the Tun Huang, Yung Chang, and Tsing Chou routes. While teaching in the National Sun Yat-sen University, I had the good fortune, in the autumn and winter of 1940, to lead a party of post-graduate research students for an investigation of the cultural relics in the provinces of Kweichow, Kwangsi, Kwangtung and Hunan. On October 3, 1940, in the middle heights of Kuan Yin Peak (觀音峯) in the West Hills of Kweilin, I discovered Buddhist statues carved on the rocks. The work was done at the time of Emperor Kao Chung of the Tang dynasty. The sculpture was of exceptionally good quality, and the style was quite different from the Buddhist figures in the caves of Tun Huang or on the rocks of Yün Kang (雲岡) in Ta T'ung (大同). Inscriptions on the statues included such statements as: "On the 8th day of the 12th month in the first year of the reign Tiao Lu (調露) of the T'ang dynasty, a statue is being sculptured by Li Shih (李實), the minister of Chao Chou (昭州)". These statues were fine works of art in the early days of T'ang, and writings of former scholars as well as local topographical records had all failed to refer to them. Thus historical facts and artistic achievements lying unknown for such a long time were being rediscovered. With great joy, I took upon myself the duty of investigating Buddhist relics of the T'ang dynasty in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. I was fortunate in generally getting what I sought. I undertook a full investigation of Buddhist statues and other relics in the West Hills, those in the Huan Chu Cave (還珠洞) in Fu Po Hill (伏波山) within Kweilin city, and in the Ti Tsai hills (疊彩山) and Wind Cave (風洞) to the north of the city. I lingered long over these relics, touching them, studying them, and attempting to understand their significance. I then left the province by the Hunan-Kwangsi railway, traveling via Hengyang (衡陽) to return to Kwangtung.



In 1945, I was President of the Kwangtung Provincial College of Arts and Science. The old campus of the college, located at Shih Liu Kang (石榴岡) in Canton, had been destroyed by the Japanese, and could not be restored immediately. The College used as temporary premises the Kuang Hsiao Monastery (光孝寺) in the western part of the city. A religious shrine was thus made also into an academic institution, and there was gratification in this blending of religion and scholarship.

The monastery was founded in the days of the Eastern Ts'in dynasty (東晉) by the Indian monk Dharmayasa (曇摩耶舍), and up to the times of the Liu Sung (劉宋) and T'ang dynasties, it was a centre of the Ch'an School (禪宗) (the Meditation School) of Chinese Buddhism. Both Chinese and foreign monks of repute, when passing through Canton, would visit the monastery either to pay respects or to give sermons, and perhaps also to remain a while to engage in the translation of Buddhist sutras. Such notable Buddhist dignitaries as Gunabhadra (求那跋陀羅), Bodhidharma (菩提達摩), Gunarata (波羅末陀), Paramatra (般刺密諦), and the Chinese monks Yi Ching (義淨) and Chien Chen (鑑真) were among the best known Buddhist priests who visited the place.

It was also at this monastery that Hui Neng (慧能), the sixth Chinese Patriarch of the Meditation School, first expounded his doctrine of immediate enlightenment through the theory of identifying one's mind with Buddhahood. Amoghajra (不空金剛), of the Mi Tsung (密宗) (the Mystic School) also visited the monastery where he conducted a service for the mass induction of the faithful into followers of Buddhism. In the monastery today, there still remains the pagoda erected by the monk Fa Ts'ai (法才) in which was kept the hair of the Patriarch Hui Neng who officially took up holy orders there; the pillar prepared in the days of Emperor Ching Tsung (唐敬宗) of the T'ang dynasty of the Buddhist sutra the Dharanin (陀羅尼經) and the Pagoda of a Thousand Buddhas built of iron in the days of the Five Dynasties (五代), as well as various inscriptions on marble tablets.

As I completed my work in the lecture rooms, I would often go round these various historical relics, and spend a great deal of time in examining them. After prolonged meditation, I came to realize that the relics in the monastery, as well as the statues in Kweilin, constituted the best representative specimens of Buddhism and Buddhist art introduced into China via the Chiao Kwang route. Now that I had the opportunity to investigate and contact them at such close range, it was my bounden duty to do my best to study them and to pass on what I learned. I thus began to look up the classics, to check up the inscriptions on the tablets, to consult topographical records, and to study earlier dissertations. My interest in the subject had been fully aroused.

## II

I now come to the problem of the propagation of Buddhism via the Chiao Kwang route. Since the Ts'in dynasty (秦代) down to the Han dynasties, the area

embracing the present Provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi together with Vietnam (越南) constituted a single administrative area, known as the Nan-Chiao (南交) region. The Ts'in emperor crushed the Nan Yuch (南越) state, and created the three prefectures of Kweilin (桂林郡), Nanhai (南海郡), and Hsiang (象郡), which included the present Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Vietnam areas. Chao To (趙佗) created an independent state of Nan Yueh, and his state also embraced the same areas. Emperor Wu (漢武帝) of the Han dynasty again crushed the state of Nan Yueh, and created with the land the seven prefectures of Tsangwu (蒼梧郡), Nanhai, Watlam (鬱林郡), Hoppo (合浦郡), Cochinchina (交趾郡), Chiuchen (九真郡), and Jihnan (日南郡). During the reign of Yuan Feng (元封), there were added the two prefectures of Than Erh (儋耳) and Yu Yai (珠崖). All the nine prefectures were under the Governor of Chiao Chou (交州). The governor's seat was first located at Lung Pien (龍編), which appeared to be in the vicinity of the present Tonkin (東京) in Vietnam. Later the seat of the governor was moved to Kwang Hsin (廣信), the present county of Fung Chun (封川) in Kwangtung.

During the time of Sun Chuan (孫權) in the period of the Three Kingdoms, the area was divided into two regions, Chiao-chou and Kwang-chou (廣州). The seat of the governor of Chiao-chou was restored at Lung Pien, and the seat of the governor of Kwang-chou moved to Panyu (番禺) (Canton). The name of Chiao Kwang route was thus created.

Since the heyday of the Early Han dynasty, this region had maintained communications with India. Pan Ku's (班固) Han Annals (漢書), in the section on geography referring to the Kwangtung area, has the following entry: "From the boundary of Jih Nan, and Hsu Wen (徐聞), of Hoppo, five months travel by ship brought one to the state of Tu Hang (都亢國). Another four months voyage brought one to the state of Yi Lu Mu (邑盧沒國). Another twenty odd days brought one to the state of Chan Li (婁離國). Travelling on foot from here for some 10 days, one would reach the state of Fu Kan Tu Lu (夫甘都盧), and another two months' sea voyage took one to the state of Huang Chih (黃支國). . . . Since the days of Emperor Wu, these various states sent tribute to China. Enlisted men went into the sea to obtain pearls, stones, rocks, and other treasures. Gold and silkcloth were taken on the sea trips. In the countries visited, trade was done with foreign and barbarian vessels."

The boundary of Jih Nan, and Hsu Wen of Hoppo were embarkation points in the Chiao Chou region. The state referred to as Huang Chih has since been identified by modern scholars as Kancipura (建志補羅), now known as Conjeeveram, in southern India. Thus from the days of Emperor Wu of Han, overseas communications had been developed between India and Chiao Chou, and it was but natural that Buddhism should have been introduced into Chiao Chou.

By the time of the Later Han (後漢) dynasty, communications between India and Chiao Chou were developed still further. Fan Yeh's (范曄) Later Han Annals

(後漢書), in the section on the Tien Chu state (天竺國傳), contains the following entry:

"Tien Chu state is also known as Hsin Tu (身毒). It is several thousand li to the southeast of Yueh Chih (月氏). The customs are similar to those of Yueh Chih. The country is damp and hot, and located beside a great river. The soldiers ride on elephants to battle. The people are weaker than the Yueh Chih. They cultivate the religion of Buddha and refrain from killing, so that a custom was thus established. .... During the reign of Emperor Ho (和帝), the country repeatedly sent emissaries to present tribute, which was stopped following the severance of relations with the Western lands. In the 2nd year of the reign of Yen Hsi (延喜) of Emperor Huan (桓帝) (161 A.D.), emissaries were sent via Jih Nan to present tribute."

Though there were four established routes between India and China, with the interruption of relations between China and the Western Lands for some time, the Yung Chang and Chiao Kwang routes assumed greater importance.

It is still not possible to establish definitely the date of the introduction of Buddhism into the Chiao Chou region. It is obvious, however, that by the end of the eastern Han dynasty, Buddhism had assumed a greater importance in that region than in other parts of China. This may be inferred from the "Treatise on the Truth" (理惑論), by Mu Jung (牟融) of the last days of the Han dynasty, a work written while he was residing in Chiao Chou. The last part of the preface to the treatise reads:

"Emperor Ling (靈帝) died, and the empire was thrown into a state of chaos, with the region of Chiao Chou comparatively more peaceful. People of special attainments from the North mostly came down to this area. Many of them sought the secret of immortality and some dispensed with food. A lot of people took to them. I often challenged them with the teachings of the Five Classics (五經), and these Taoist (道家) priests could hardly answer my questions. It was comparable to the task undertaken by Mencius (孟子) in resisting the theories of the miscellaneous philosophers of his time, Yang Chu (楊朱) and Motzu (墨子).

"At first, I took my mother to Cochin to escape from the troublous times. At 26 I returned to Tsangwu to marry. The Prefect heard of my adherence to the teachings of the Sage, and asked me to take up an official life. I was then young and had fully decided on the study of the truth. And in the midst of the troublous times, I had no liking for an official life, and so I declined the offer. At the time the heads of various prefects were suspicious of one another, and there were misunderstandings among them. The Prefect (of Tsangwu), respecting my knowledge, requested me to proceed to Ching Chou (荊州) as his emissary to present his good wishes. I considered that while I could refuse an official post, I could not reject a mission. I undertook the mission, and was greatly honoured by attentions paid me afterwards.

Later, I had to feign ill-health to escape further official assignments. . . . Subsequently, as I mused over my life, I realized that my zeal in the defence of the truth had made me prominent and caused official attentions to be showered on me, but I felt that in the midst of the chaotic world, it was no time to seek personal distinction. . . . I then dedicated myself to the study of Buddhism, and at the same time undertook the study of Lao Tzu's (老子) Taoist classic. The mysteries of religion were like nectar to my throat, and the Five Classics like music to my ears. The uninitiated began to look askance on my ways for they considered that I had revolted against the teachings of the Sage and taken up heretical studies. I felt it was not proper to enter into argument with them and yet I could not keep quiet. I have accordingly taken up my pen, quoted the sayings of the sages and scholars in support of the truth. I have named my treatise *Mu's Dissertation on the Truth*. . . . These who had previously expressed doubts were immediately enlightened. They bowed in all humility and admitted their past ignorance, and blasphemy, and stated they had become enlightened by the truth. They asked for a chance to reform themselves, to redeem themselves for past sins, and to uphold the five abstinences in order to become a Buddhist disciple."

Now Mu Jung was originally a Confucian scholar. Had there not been the prevalence in the Chiao Chou and Tsangwu areas of Buddhism and the existence of great monks and teachers who would have moved him and taught him the religion, how could he have made such a great attainment in the doctrines of Buddhism? Added to this may be mentioned the stories and lives of Shih Hsieh (士燮), Prefect of Cochinchina in the days of the Three Kingdoms, and the monk Kang Tseng Hui (康僧會) who once proceeded to Nanking (南京) to translate the scriptures, and we come to the conclusion that during the time from the last days of the Han dynasty to the Three Kingdoms, there must have been many Indian merchants and monks residing in the Chiao Chou region.

The Biography of Shih Hsieh in the Wu Annals of the Annals of the Three Kingdoms (三國志) stated: "Shih Hsieh and his brothers all were appointed prefects of different prefectures, and held power in the whole region (of Chiao Chou) which was far away from the imperial court. The brothers moved about in great splendour, accompanied by escorts and musicians, with carriages filling up the streets as they passed. The Hu (胡) (foreigners) people could be found burning incense in respect en route."

The "hu" people referred to must have been residents coming from India and other Central Asian countries, and not natives of Vietnam. In the days of the Han, Wei (魏), and Six Dynasties (六朝) periods, the Chinese people often referred to Indians (印度人) and Persians (波斯人) as "hu people." These "hu people" might mostly have come as merchants, but there must have been monks among them also. At the same period, therefore, there was in the area a great monk like Kang Tseng Hui. The story of this monk, in Volume I of Biographies of Eminent Monks (高僧傳) by Hui Chiao (慧皎), relates the following:

"The grandfather of Kang Tseng Hui was a native of Kang Chu (康居) (Sogdiana). The family had lived for generations in India. His father, a merchant, migrated to Cochin. When in his teens, Kang Tseng Hui took up holy orders, and became versed in the Tripitaka (三藏) or Buddhist Canon, reading extensively other classical writings also. He also studied astronomy, geography and the sciences. In the second year of the reign of Chih Wu (赤烏) (247 A.D.) he first arrived at Chien Yeh (建業) (Nanking). At the time, Buddhism was not yet developed in the area. When Hui arrived there, he erected Buddhist statues and began to spread the religion. It was the first time that Buddhist priests had been seen in the capital of the kingdom of Wu. The people did not yet understand the teachings and thought them to be a heretical sect. The local authorities submitted a memorial to the throne stating that a *hu* person had entered the territory, called himself a priest, looked and dressed abnormally, and called for attention. The King of Wu summoned Hui to his presence, and was greatly moved by his expositions. He caused a pagoda to be built for him. Thus began the existence of Buddhist structures in the area, which was named Fu To Li (浮圖里) after the incident. Hui undertook the translation of many Buddhist scriptures in his temple. In the 4th year of the reign of Tien Chi (天紀) (280 A.D.), he fell ill and died."

According to this account, Buddhism was introduced into Nanking in the days of the Three Kingdoms from Chiao Chou also. As this man from Chiao Chu, whose forebears for generations had lived in India was still considered a *hu*, there can be no doubt that the *hu* people referred to as burning incense in Cochin must be residents in the area from India and other Central Asian regions.

About this time, the kingdom of Fu Nan (扶南), to the west of Vietnam, the present Cambodia (柬埔寨), was conquered by Hung Shen (混滇), who was of Indian origin. Hung Sheng ascended the throne of the country, and it was natural that its culture would come under Indian influence. In Volume 347 of the *Tai Ping Yu Lan* (太平御覽) (Imperial Encyclopedia), a quotation was made from *Foreign Nations in the Time of Wu* (吳時外國傳), by Kang Tai (康泰) of the Three Kingdoms period, as follows:

"The state of Fu Nan was originally ruled by a Queen, named Liu Yeh (柳葉). There was a man from the state of Mo Tieh (摸跌), named Hung Shen, who was very devoted in his worship of God. God was moved by his devotion, and the man one night dreamed that he was given a magic bow, and told to make a sea voyage in a merchant vessel. The next morning, Hung Shen entered the temple and found a bow under a tree. Accordingly he started his voyage in a large vessel which the winds soon carried to Fu Nan. Queen Liu Yeh wanted to seize the vessel, and Hung Shen raised his magic bow to shoot, the arrow piercing the boat into the land. Liu Yeh was subdued, and Hung Shen ascended the throne of Fu Nan."

Volume 787 of the same book, in the quotations from Kang Tai's *Customs of Funan* (扶南土俗), the term "Mo Tieh" was given as "Hung Tieh" (橫跌). The quotation reads:



"The country of Hung Tieh is southeast of Yu Pa (優鉢), and it is not as prosperous as Yu Pa."

Another quotation reads:

"The country of Yu Pa is 5,000 li (里) to the southeast of Tien Chu. The country is prosperous, and has large cities. The customs are similar to those of Tien Chu."

The variations "Mo Tieh" and "Hung Tieh" must have resulted from the similarity of the characters for "mo" and "hung" respectively. The French scholar Paul Pelliot stated that the land must be on the eastern coast of India. Though Fu Nan was not within the scope of Chiao Chou, yet it bordered on Chiao Chou, and communications must have been well developed so that mutual influences could not be avoided.

The Indian monk Mo-lo-Tsi-yu (摩羅耆域) who had been travelling in Chiao Chou and also visited interior China, according to Volume 9 of the Biographies of Eminent Monks by Hui Chiao, had come from India, through Fu Nan to reach the Chiao-Kwang region to preach to the people. According to a publication in Vietnam on the activities of the earlier monks, Mo-lo-Tsi-yu had been together, in the last days of Emperor Ling of Han, with another Indian monk Hsiu-to-lo (丘陀羅), and the Prefect Shih Hsieh, and had toured the Yirg Lou (羸樓) area in Cochin (the present Pei Ning (北寧) district in Vietnam). A Vietnamese Hsu Ting (修定) called upon them to remain there to propagate the faith. Hsiu-to-lo remained, whereas Mo-lo-Tsi-yu proceeded further east.

By this time Buddhism was greatly flourishing in the Chiao Chou region. Not only were religious services constantly held, but the translation of the scriptures also received attention. In Volume 2 of the Story of the Development of the Truth (弘贊法華傳), by Hui Hsiang (惠詳), it is stated that the monk Kalasivi (支曇梁接), which meant fearlessness, a native of Yueh Chih, undertook the translation in 250 A.D. in Chiao Chou of the Sutra of the Triple Essences of the Truth (法華三昧經).

Generally speaking, the area which now includes Cambodia, central and northern Vietnam, and Kwangtung and Kwangsi, was, from the days of the Han to the Western Tsin (西晉) dynasties, one entity in the history of the introduction of Buddhism. In this area, the principal centres of Buddhism were first Cochin, (the present area around Tonkin in Vietnam) and Tsangwu and Kwang Hsin (the present Wuchow (梧州) and Feng Chun) and Fu Nan (the present Cambodia). Tonkin was a political centre, and Cambodia was an important communications centre. Wuchow and Feng Chun were respectively the seat of a prefect and the seat of the governor of Chiao-chou, and at the same time centrally located in the whole region. There was little wonder therefore that Buddhism should have been principally developed in the said localities.

### III.

However, since the days of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, the centres of Buddhism in this region, at Tsangwu and Kwang Hsin, were transferred to Canton (Panyu) and the Lin Kwei (臨桂) areas in Kwangsi. This was because after the period of the Three Kingdoms, Chiao Chou had been split into the two regions of Chiao Chou and Kwang Chou, and Canton's position grew in importance with the increase of shipping, while Tsangwu and Kwang Hsin were no longer the political centres. As a result of this situation, Panyu gradually became the chief centre for the dissemination of Buddhism in the region. This new development was particularly manifested in the founding, at Panyu (Canton) of the Wang Yuan Monastery (王園寺) by imperial order (the present Kwang Hsiao Monastery (光孝寺) and the increasing numbers of Indian monks visiting Panyu and other parts of Kwangtung.

The *History of Kwang Hsiao Monastery* (光孝寺志), written by Ku Kwang (顧光) in Volume 6, stated:

"Dharmayayas, a Buddhist monk of Tripitaka (三藏法師), from the state of Chihpin (黠賓), during the period of the reign of Lung An (隆安) of Emperor An (安帝) of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, came to China and stayed at Canton. The reverend gentleman built 5 large halls, called them the Wang Yuan Monastery. He later received imperial orders to undertake the translation of the scriptures in the monastery. A monk, Hui Yen (慧嚴) from Wu Tang (武當), undertook the work of transcription."

This was perhaps not the first Buddhist temple in Canton, but it was necessarily the most important shrine connected with the dissemination of Buddhism in the area. From the days of Tsin to the days of T'ang, numerous foreign priests came to Canton to propagate the faith. Of the more important ones, mention may be made of the monk Chih Fa Feng (支法防) of Yueh Chih, Cunaverman (求那跋摩) of Chi Pin, Gunabhadra of central India, Bodidharma of southern India, Chih Yo (智藥) of Hsi Yu (西域) (the Western Lands), Paramartha of Yu Chan Ni (優禪尼), Paramatra of central India, Vajrabodhi (金剛智) of southern India, Amoghovajira of northern India, and Prajna (般若若) of northern India. Most of them had connections with the Kwang Hsiao Monastery.

During the T'ang dynasty, there were in Canton even temples specially built for the residence of Indian monks. The Japanese priest, Yuan Kai (元開), in his account of the Eastward Travelling of Chien Chen (大和尚東征記), described his experiences in Panyu as follows:

"In the Kai Yuan Monastery (開元寺) there were *hu* people who built a shrine with white sandal-wood, employing 60 artisans and taking three years to complete the task at the expense of 300,000 strings of cash. They proposed to take the shrine to Tien Chu. The imperial censor Liu Chu-lin (劉巨麟) submitted a memorial to the Throne,

and an edict was issued for the shrine to be retained at the Kai Yuan Monastery where people were enabled to pay homage to it. The brilliance of the shrine defies description.

"There are also three Brahmin (婆羅門) temples where the Indian priests reside. In the ponds in these temples are cultivated the lotus plants, with its beautiful leaves and roots and its fragrant flowers.

"In the river in the city, there are numerous vessels from the countries of Brahmin, Persia (波斯), and Kuen Lun (崑崙), carrying spices, treasures, and other goods piled like mountains. The vessels are from 60 to 70 feet long. People from various countries, like Ceylon (師子), Tazi (大食) (Arabia), Ku Tang (骨唐), Pai Man (白蠻), and Che Man (赤蠻), come and go, and live in the areas. Numerous are the races to be found in the city."

Since there were temples specially devoted as living quarters for the Indian monks, their numbers must have been very great.

Indeed, Indian monks were most numerous in Canton during the T'ang dynasty, and some of them lived in the Hsia Shan Temple (峽山寺) in Ching Yuan (清遠) country, and the various temples on Lo Fou Shan (羅浮山). The study of Sanskrit was also more developed than in other areas. *The Record of the Development of Buddhism during the Kai Yuan Period* (開元釋教錄), written by the monk Chih Sheng (智昇) of the T'ang dynasty, Volume 9, contained the following reference to the study of Sanskrit from Indian monks by the priest Huai Ti (懷迪):

"The Buddhist monk Huai Ti was a native of Hsun Chou (循州). He lived in the Nan Lou Monastery (南樓寺) at the Lo Fou Shan in the area. The hill was visited by religious leaders of high attainments. Huai Ti had been there for a long time, learned much from them, and became well informed. He was fully versed in the different branches of knowledge and he undertook studies and researches in many subjects. Because the place was near the sea, Indian monks often visited there, and Huai Ti learned from them their language which he mastered."

This was of course an outstanding case. There was also the case of the monk of the legalist school Ching Ku (貞固) who lived in the Hsia Shan Monastery in Ching Yuan country. He also studied Sanskrit from Indian monks. During the reign of the Empress Wu Che Tien (武則天), he was invited by the monk Yi Ching to participate in the translation of Buddhist sutras. These examples serve to bear out the prevalence of Indian culture in the Canton district in that period.

The dissemination of Buddhism in the Cambodia area after the Eastern Tsin dynasty appeared to be even more widely undertaken compared with the period of the Three Kingdoms. There were also many leaders who proceeded from Cambodia to the interior of China to propagate the faith or to undertake the work of translation

of the sutras. In the days of the Hsiao Liang (蕭梁) dynasty, for instance, there were the monks Samghapala (僧伽婆羅) and Mandra (曼陀羅), and in the days of the Chen dynasty (陳代) the monk Subhuti (須菩提), the most marked of all. In Volume I of the Biographies of Eminent Monks by Hui Chiao, the life of Samghapala read:

"The monk Samghapala, which meant reared as a priest or cultured as a priest, was a native of Fu Nan. He was born in the 4th year of the reign of Ta Ming (大明) of the Sung dynasty (460 A.D.), and was a bright boy from his earliest days; he first studied law, and in his student days took holy orders, and made a special study of the sutra Ya-pi-tan (阿毗曇論). His fame was pread all over the south seas. Subsequently he devoted his efforts to the study of the Legalistic sutras, and was devoted to the propagation of the truth. When he heard that the state of Tsi (齊) was taking up the cause of the propagation of the faith, he took a vessel to the capital, where he stayed at the Cheng Kuan Monastery (正觀寺) and became the disciple of the Indian monk Gunabhadra. He also took lessons from his new teacher in more research work, and he became versed in the scriptures as well as in several languages. In the 5th year of the reign of Tien Chien (天監) (506 A.D.) he was summoned by an imperial edict to the Shou Kwang Palace (壽光寺), the Hua Lin Gardens (華林園), the Cheng Kuan Monastery, the Chan Yun House (占雲館), and the Fu Nan House, in Yangtu (揚都), to undertake the translation of the sutras. When he started the work of translation at the Shou Kwang Palace, Emperor Wu personally visited his room, and performed a ceremony of first making use of the pen with which he undertook the work of translation. In the 5th year of the reign of Pu Tung (普通), he died from illness at the Cheng Kuan Monastery."

According to this report, during the Liang period (梁代) at Yangtu, there was even a special house for the accomodation of monks from Fu Nan. This also provided proof of the development of Buddhism, and the abundance of monks, from Fu Nan at the time.

The life of Mandra in Volume I of the Biographies of Eminent Monks said:

"The monk Mandra, which meant helping the weak, was a priest from Fu Nan. In the early days of the Liang dynasty, he brought many Sanskrit scriptures to offer to the court. He was requested by an imperial edict to undertake the translation of the sutras with Sangkapala, and he completed the translation of three sutras."

In the same volume of the same work, the life of Subhati read:

"Subhati, which meant good luck, was a priest from Fu Nan. He undertook on behalf of the king of Chen 8 volume. of the Pao Yun Ching (the sutra of the Precious Cloud) of the Maharajana school (大乘寶雲經)."

For by this time, Fu Nan had become entirely a Buddhist country.

By the time of the transition from the Sui (隋) to the T'ang dynasty in China, the state of Fu Nan was conquered by one of its former vassals, the state of Chen La (真臘). But Buddhism not only suffered no set-back, but was instead even more greatly respected. At the time of the reign of Tai Chung (唐太宗) of T'ang, the great Indian monk, Punyopaya (佈如烏伐邪), disciple of the great Nargajuna (龍樹), after travelling to many lands, finally came to China to teach the sutras. The country of Chen La was anxious to have Punyopaya to itself, and the Buddhist priests of the whole nation were assembled in an attempt to appeal to the Indian monk to remain in their country. Their enthusiasm for Buddhism could thus be seen.

The Life of Punyopaya, in Volume 5 of the Biographies of Eminent Monks, New Series, by Tao Hsuan (道宣), read:

Punyopaya, which means blessed birth, sometimes abbreviated as Na-Ti (那提), was a native of central India. He took holy orders at an early age, became enlightened from teachings of great masters, and entertained high ambitions. He dedicated himself to the spread of the truth and travelled in many countries, preaching to the people as he went. He was a good linguist and took to new tongues easily so that he was able to use the local speech of the places he visited. Finally he embarked on an extensive mission, and collected the scriptures, canons and dissertations of both the Hinayana and Mahayana schools of Buddhism, consisting of more than 500 titles and more than 1,500 volumes, and in the 6th year of the reign of Yung Hwei (永徽) (655 A.D.) arrived in the capital of China where he was treated as a guest of the government at the Tze En Monastery (慈恩寺).

"At the time, however, the Chinese monk Hsuan Chuang was already engaged in the translation of the major sutras and had established his reputation in this field. Na-Ti would therefore not intrude into the great Chinese monk's activities. In the first year of the reign of Hsien Ching (顯慶) (A.D. 656) he was given the imperial mission to visit the countries in the Kun Lun (崑崙) archipelago to look for strange medicines. On his arrival in the South Seas regions, he was immensely respected by the rulers of various areas, and monasteries were built in his honour. He converted still larger numbers of the people to the faith. However, since he had been sent on an imperial mission, he felt it was his duty to return to China on the completion of the mission. He also wanted to work on some of the Sanskrit sutras. In the third year of the reign of Lung So (龍朔) (663 A.D.) he returned to his old monastery in China. Some of the sutras he had originally brought to the country had already been worked on by Hsuan Chuang. He found it unnecessary to work on them anew. He did undertake the translation of three sutras, including the eight mantra sutra (八曼陀羅經).

"At this time, the people of the state of Chen-La in the South, who had previously benefited by the teaching of Na-Ti, yearned for his return. The Buddhist priests of the whole nation made a joint trip to request the monk to proceed to their country, where, they added, were to be found rare medicines which would only be



known to him and for the picking of which he was allowed a free hand. He was allowed to proceed to Chen-La and to return to China as he pleased by an imperial order.

"Travellers from India pointed out that Na-Ti was a disciple of the great Nagarjuna. His interpretation of the doctrine of the non-existence of outward forms was a little different from that propounded by Hsuan Chuang. Some monks from the West considered that after the death of Nagarjuna, Na-Ti was the greatest exponent of his teachings, and achieved great results in the conversion of people. He was fully versed in the principles and doctrines of the Hinayana scriptures including the Vinaya (毗尼) and the Veda (韋陀)."

Since Punyopaya occupied the same exalted position as Hsuan Chuang, it could be easily understood why he was so honoured by the people of Chen La who wanted him to remain in their country for the propagation of the faith. The state of Chen La later established its capital at Angkor, Cambodia, the site of the famous Angkor-Thom, remains so greatly talked of by modern archaeologists. The monasteries in the area were built with a great magnificence rarely equalled in other parts of the world. The statues on the walls were particularly huge, while the murals and sculptures were also of exceptional merit. In the monastery was a statue of the King Lepreux, where Indian influences could definitely be traced. The Angkor-Thom remains are certainly one of the most important relics of Buddhist art.

After the days of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, the propagation of Buddhism in the region covering the present Tonkin area in Vietnam was carried out on the one hand by continued missionaries from India, and on the other hand, by missionaries from the interior of China and Kwangtung. Evidence of continued activities of teachers from India can be found in the record by the monk Yi Ching on *The Conversion of the Priests in the South Seas* (南海寄歸內法傳) in which it was stated that during the early days of the T'ang dynasty, in the various districts under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the An-Nam (安南都護) region, numerous priests visited India for further studies. As to the services of preachers from the interior of China, there were the outstanding cases of the visit to the Fa Yun Monastery (法雲寺) in Vietnam of Vinitaruci, (毗尼多流支), disciple of Tseng Chan (僧燦) (who was a disciple of Bodhidharma), laying the foundations of the spread of the School of Meditation in Vietnam. Another outstanding visitor to the area was the monk Wu Yen Tung (無言通), disciple of the fourth generation of the Patriarch Hui Neng, who founded the Southern Branch of the Meditation School. Wu Yen Tung visited the Pai Ning district of Vietnam, and promoted the universal development in that country of the southern branch of the Chinese Meditation School.

The Lin-Kwei area in this Chiao-Kwang region was also the centre of Buddhist development at an early date, and some of the monasteries dated back to the days of the Sui and T'ang dynasties. Cha Hsun (查淳), of Wanping (宛平), in his inscrip-

tion on a tablet commemorating the restoration of the Wan Shou Monastery (萬壽寺) in Kweilin, said, "The oldest monastery in Kweilin is the Wan Shou Monastery, located off the Wen Chang Gate (文昌門). It was first built during the Sui dynasty when it was named Kai Yuan Monastery. During the T'ang period, it was renamed the Hsing Shan Monastery (興善寺).

In those days, it was included in the area under the Governor of Kwei Chou (桂州). Travellers from the An-Nam region (the present Vietnam) to the interior of China must pass through the area. The development of Buddhism thus followed the lead in the region to the south, and Kweilin thus also became a Buddhist centre.

#### IV.

I shall now proceed to discuss the special characteristics of the development of Buddhism and its art in this region (the Chiao-Kwang area), with my studies based on the history of the Kwang Hsiao Monastery in Canton and the Buddhist statues discovered in Kweilin. It is true that I am working on limited data, but the materials have been investigated on the spot, and the analyses made may possibly contribute just a little to the study of the subject.

The Kwang Hsiao Monastery was founded in the days of the eastern Tsin dynasty by Dharmayasa. By the time of the Liu Sung dynasty, the monk from Central India, Gunabhadra, arrived in Canton from Ceylon in the 12th year of the reign of Yuan Chia (元嘉) (435 A.D.). At Wang Yuan Monastery (the present Kwang Hsiao Monastery), he established the first shrine for the spread of the religion and the initiation of novices taking up holy orders. He pointed to the haritakit (訶子樹) tree in the compound of the monastery. "These trees are the haritakit fruits from the West. The place shall be named the Haritakit Grove (訶林)." He also prophesied: "Later a bodhisatva in the flesh shall be initiated into priesthood in this very monastery."

Though this great monk was versed in most of the scriptures, he nevertheless devoted his greatest attention to the sutra known as the "Leng Chia Sutra (楞伽經)" from the southern part of India. Later when he proceeded north to Nanking and Tanyang (丹陽) to translate the scriptures and to spread the faith, his greatest achievement consisted of the translation of the said classic. Bodhidharma, the First Patriarch of the Chinese Meditation School, had also studied from him the essence of the Buddhist Sect of southern India. The monk Ching Kuo (淨覺), in his history of the Leng Chia sect (楞伽師資血脉記), stated "Gunabhadra, of the Sung dynasty, was the first Patriarch of the Leng Chia School. He was also teacher to our own Patriarch Bodhidharma." The Kwang Hsiao Monastery being the place where Gunabhadra started the spreading of the faith, it seemed obvious that he must also have been influenced by the teachings of the Meditation School.

Bodhidharma himself, on arriving in Canton from India, used the Kang Hsiao Monastery as the venue for his missionary activities. The History of the Kwang Hsiao Monastery, Volume II, by Ku Kuang, state.

"The first Patriarch Bodhidharma arrived in Canton from Tien Chu (India), and stayed at the Harilakit Grove. At the time, Emperor Wu was a faithful adherent of Buddhism. The magistrate of Canton, Hsiao Ngang (蕭昂), reported his arrival. The Emperor sent emissaries to receive the monk at Nanking. They had a meeting, but no impression was made on the emperor. The monk crossed the Yangtze to the north, stayed at the Hsiao Lin Monastery (少林寺) at Sung Shan (嵩山)."

Bodhidharma must have arrived in Canton towards the last days of the Liu Sung dynasty, so that his stay at the Kwang Hsiao Monastery must have been of long duration. In the monastery today there are still relics of his residence, such as the Dharma Well (達摩井). The Life of Bodhidharma in the Biographies of Eminent Monks, New Series, by Tao Hsuan, Volume 16, stated:

"Bodhidharma came of Brahmin stock in southern India. He was a genius and caught on to things readily. He dedicated his life to the propagation of the doctrines of the Mahayana, and reached high attainments in meditation and communion with the infinite. He felt a duty to carry the light to the people in this part of the world, and would seek to deliver them from ignorance. He first reached the Nan Yueh area (Canton of the Sung empire, and later proceeded north to Wei. Wherever he went, he taught the people the doctrine of Chan (meditation)."

Bodhidharma must have studied the "Leng Chia" sutra from Gunabhadra after he left Canton for Nanking. But there must have been similarities between his teachings of the Chan school and those upheld by Gunabhadra, for otherwise they could not have immediately struck a close relationship after their meeting, leading to Bodhidharma's resolute undertaking to pass on the "Leng Chia" teachings to his own disciples, and to his propagation of the Meditation doctrine seeking the reconciliation of reasoning and action. The principles of the Meditation School as enunciated by Bodhidharma, and quoted in the Biographies of Eminent Monks, New Series, were as follows:

"From my understanding of the truth, I fully believe that all living beings share the same basic nature. The dusts of alien thoughts blind one to his true self, and by discarding the false thoughts and returning to the true, by facing the wall in close meditation, by being oblivious of what appears before one's eyes, the sage and the common people are at one. By the determination to stick to the truth, the refusal to follow alien teachings, the identification of one's own self with the truth, and the maintenance of peace and refraining from bustle, one will have achieved reason.

"There are four categories of conduct which should justify all human experiences. The first is the conduct of looking at an incident as the result of retribution. When a man has cultivated an austere way of living, he must not forget there

might be sins in his past life. It will not do to neglect the fundamental and to harp on the incidental and give oneself away to emotions. Though one might have done nothing wrong in the present life, how could one say he had no blame in a past existence? Thus one must bear calmly all adversities without complaint. The scriptures say: one does not worry in face of adversity because he has become resigned to his lot. When such a thought is bred, one becomes identified with the truth, and makes progress in his spiritual life in spite of sufferings.

"The second is the conduct of taking in all happenings as they come. All living beings are fundamentally self-less, and the good and the bad come to one as the law of cause and effect is in operation. One may receive an honour, but it might have been the reward for some good done in a past existence, and with the reward, the good mark has come to an end, so that there is no cause for jubilation. To take in the good and the bad with a sense of resignation, without any emotional outburst will lead to peace of mind and the identification of oneself with the truth.

"The third conduct is that of abstinence from desire. People are for ever greedy and avaricious, and lustful after honour and fame. But when an enlightened man has found the truth, he must act differently from the common people. His heart is at ease, and his body moves as circumstances call for. He knows that among all in the three circles of mortal souls, there is suffering in all and real rest for none. The scriptures say: All who seek after things suffer, but those who refrain from desire are happy.

"The fourth conduct is the conduct of living in accordance with the principles of Truth. This means the complete purification of one's mind."

When Bodhidharma taught his disciples Hui Ko (慧可), Tseng Fu (僧副), and Tan Lin (曇林), he based his teachings on the four volumes of the "Leng Chia" sutra as translated by Gunabhadra. The life of Hui Ko in the Biographies of Eminent Monks, New Series, stated:

"At first, the Patriarch Bodhidharma passed the four volumes of the Leng Chia sutra to Hui Ko, and told him: In my opinion this sutra is most suited to China. The benevolent abides by its teachings and he will attain to Nirvana. Hui Ko, after each preaching session, commented, 'It is a sad thing indeed that after the passage of four generations, this scripture will be turned into an object of outward show.' So he instructed the monk Na (那) Men (滿) and others always to have the sutra in their personal luggage, to treat it as part of their personal belongings, and constantly to preach it and act according to its teachings, without fail."

Both Bodhidharma and Hui Ko must thus be considered great adherents of the Leng Chia school led by Gunabhadra. And yet because they propagated the doctrine of meditation, they were referred to as the Chan Tsung (School of Meditation). This

school was passed on by Hui Ko to Tseng Chan. The latter in turn passed it on to Tao Hsin (道信) and the Indian monk Vinitaruci.

Vinitaruci visited Chang-an (長安) in the 6th year of the reign of Ta Chien (大建) of Emperor Hsuan (陳宣帝) of Chen dynasty (574 A.D.) and later became the disciple of Tseng Chan. He then returned to Canton where he translated a sutra known as "Hsiang Tou Chin She Pao Yeh Cha Pei Ching" (象頭精舍報業差別經), and also undertook preaching services. Since Vinitaruci was an exponent of the Meditation School which upheld the Leng Chia Sutra, then it was apparent that the teaching which Gunabhadra took with him from the Kwang Hsiao Monastery to the North now came back again from the central plains to Kwangtung.

Vinitaruci later in the year 580 A.D. went to Vietnam where he preached the faith at the Fa Yun Monastery (法雲寺) at Tonkin. His story was only briefly mentioned in Volume 2 of Biographies of Eminent Monks, New Series, appended to the life of Narendrayasas. He was mentioned as a native of the state of Wu Chang (烏菴國), and that he had translated two sutras.

In Vietnam, however, the monk Tung Pien (通辨), in the 3rd year of the reign Shao Sheng (紹聖) of Emperor Chieh (宋哲宗) of Sung (1096 A.D.) had more to say of Vinitaruci in his report on the development of Buddhism in Vietnam before the Empress Dowager (符聖感靈仁皇太后) of Vietnam of the day. According to this report, in addition to the fact that Vinitaruci had been a disciple of Tseng Chan, the third Patriarch of the School of Meditation, and that he had returned to Canton to undertake the translation of sutras, he was also identified as a member of a Brahmin family of southern India. He furthermore translated the sutra known as Ta Tsang Fang Kwang Tsung Chih Ching (大藏方廣總持經), of the Mahayana classics, while at the Fa Yun Monastery in Vietnam, where he also expounded the doctrines of the School of Meditation. He died in the 14th year of the reign of Kai Huang (開皇) (594 A.D.).

Vinitaruci's disciple, Fa Hsien (法賢), was a prominent figure at the Chung Shan Monastery (衆善寺) in Pai Ning, where he undertook the propagation of the faith, and had more than 300 disciples himself, thereby contributing greatly to the development of Buddhism in Vietnam. Fa Hsien died in the 9th year of the reign of Wu Teh (武德) of Emperor Kao Tsu (唐高祖) of the T'ang dynasty (626 A.D.). Fa Hsien's disciples of two generations later, like Fa Teng (法燈) and Hui Yen (惠嚴), carried on the tradition. Fa Teng still preached principally the doctrines of the School of Meditation based on the Leng Chia sutra, but Hui Yen had propounded the doctrines of the Chin Kang Ching (金剛經) (Diamond Sutra), and thus had deviated a little from the original school. Nevertheless, throughout the period of the T'ang dynasty, the disciples of Vinitaruci continued to constitute the major figures in the Buddhist world of Vietnam.



As to the Kwang Hsiao Monastery in Canton, by the time of the T'ang dynasty, it became all the more famous as a centre for the development of the Meditation School. For Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch of the School of Meditation, in the 1st year of the reign of Yi Feng (儀鳳) of Emperor Kao of T'ang (676 A.D.), held a discussion on the fluttering of the pennant at the monastery, where he subsequently was shaved and initiated as a priest. He later propounded in the monastery the doctrine of the so-called Tung Shan sect (東山法門), stressing the reconciliation of the human mind with Buddhahood, and thereby laid the foundations of the southern branch of the Chinese School of Meditation. His influence proved of far-reaching consequences, and his importance was thus even greater than that of Gunubhodra and Bodhidharma.

The School of Meditation led by Hui Neng also came from the same stock as founded by Bodhidharma, for Hui Neng received his teachings from Hung Jen (弘忍), the 5th Patriarch of the Chinese School after Bodhidharma, being a fellow student with Shen Hsiu (神秀), the other claimant to succession to Hung Jen as Patriarch. But by the time the Meditation School was handed down to Hung Jen, the Diamond Sutra had assumed a place of growing importance in the teachings of the School. And according to the enigmatic expressions advanced by Shen Hsiu and Hui Neng respectively on the acceptance of the leadership of the School from their master, it would seem that the two held different views. Consequently, the Meditation School might be said to have been divided at the time into two sections, led respectively by Shen Hsiu and Hui Neng. Shen Hsiu advocated enlightenment by gradual stages, on the ground that Nirvana must be reached after the solution of the various problems on the way. Hui Neng, on the other hand, preached direct access to Nirvana, by dismissing all problems instead of seeking their solution. It was a revolutionary step in the ideological development of the School of Meditation. Shen Hsiu was a native of Wei Shih (尉氏) of Honan (河南), and Hui Neng was a native of Hsin Chou (新州) of Kwangtung. The first represented the northern sect of the Meditation School, and the second the southern sect. Hence came the popular saying of "Neng of the South, and Hsiu of the North."

As to Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch of the Meditation School, prior to his appearance at the Kwang Hsiao Monastery in the debate on the fluttering of the pennant, he was unknown to the general public except his master, the 5th Patriarch Hung Jen, who alone had knowledge of his great attainments. Thus though the extent of his wisdom, and the completion of his awakening were not realized in the Kwang Chiao Monastery, the foundations of the development of his school of Buddhist thought must nevertheless be traced to his association with the monastery. The monk Fa Hai (法海) in his work on the "Sutra of the Precious Shrine of the Sixth Patriarch (六祖法寶壇經)," in the portion describing his experiences, wrote:

"One day, the Great Teacher realized that the time called for the propagation of the faith, and that he could not remain inactive. He proceeded to Canton where

he came to the Fa Sheng Monastery (法性寺) (Kwang Hsiao Monastery). At the time, the Abbot Yin Chung (印宗) was giving a discourse on the Nirvana Sutra. Two monks were having an argument over the fluttering of a pennant under the force of the wind. One claimed that it was the wind that moved. The other claimed that the pennant was the object which moved. The argument could not be settled. Hui Neng advanced, and stated that neither the wind nor the pennant moved, but the movement came from the heart of the benevolent. The audience was astounded by the exposition. The abbot Yin Chung invited him to a seat of honour and inquired of him the mysteries of the faith. He found that Hui Neng answered all questions with simplicity without resort to rhetoric finesse. Yin Chung was impressed, and said, "You are no ordinary man...". Hui Neng was later persuaded to show to the public the robe and dish handed him by his Master as authority of his succession. Yin Chung then asked him: "What did Huang Mei (黃梅) (the 5th Patriarch) teach you on the further teaching of the truth?" Hui Neng replied: "My Master told me nothing about instructions except that natural consciousness was of greater importance than actions connected with meditation and seeking deliverance from sins." Yin Chung asked him why actions connected with meditation and seeking deliverance from sins should be neglected. Hui Neng replied: "To resort to actions is the way of a faith that is variable, not the way of the Buddha. The way of the Buddha is invariable. . . . The Buddha had said that the roots of good are of two kinds, that which is constant, and that which is inconstant. The nature of Buddha is neither constant nor inconstant, but permanent. There are two sides to human nature, the good and the not-good. Buddha's nature is neither good nor not-good. Its nature is thus not variable. In the human world, the common people distinguish between the good and the not-good sides of nature, but the enlightened realize that true nature is not variable. The nature that is not variable is Buddha's nature." On hearing these words, Yin Chung was so happy that he clasped his own hands in joy. . . . He accordingly undertook to shave the head of Hui Neng to initiate him officially into the priesthood, and he furthermore desired to become the disciple of Hui Neng. Hui Neng thereupon established the Tung Shan School of the Meditation School under the bodhi tree in the Kwang Hsiao Monastery."

The Tung Shan School referred to in the above record was the school of Buddhist thought propounded before Hui Neng by the 5th Patriarch Hung Jen in the Tung Shan monastery in Huang Mei, when, in the course of a discourse on the Diamond Sutra, the fifth patriarch came upon the passage: "One shall have no place to which one's heart is attached permanently." Hui Neng had become enlightened immediately, and realized that all truths could not be divorced from one's own nature. It is the principle enunciated in the Sutra of the Shrine of the Sixth Patriarch, in which he constantly referred to the fact that "one's own heart is the Buddhahood," and that principle which he explained in the following words: "When one is not enlightened, he considers that Buddha is identified with all living beings, but when he becomes enlightened, he realizes that all living beings are identified with Buddha. Since all doctrines derive their source from one's own heart,

why not seek the Nirvana directly from one's own heart, why not seek the Nirvana directly from one's own enlightenment?"

The greatest connection between the Kwang Hsiao Monastery and the southern branch of the Meditation School lay in the fact that Hui Neng had preached there the doctrine of direct enlightenment. It was true that not long afterwards, the 6th Patriarch Hui Neng transferred his headquarters to Tsao Chi (曹溪) in Kukeng (曲江), and took in a large number of disciples, so that the southern branch of the Meditation School soon held sway over the whole country, while the very body of Hui Neng himself is still kept in the Nan Hua Monastery (南華寺) at Tsao Chi; nevertheless these achievements had their beginnings from the Kwang Hsiao Monastery. We must not forget the role of the Kwang Hsiao Monastery because of the great achievements which were registered following the patriarch's work at Tsao Chi.

The monk Wu Yen Tung, disciple of the fourth generation from Hui Neng, in the 15th year of the reign of Yuan Ho (元和) of Emperor Hsien of T'ang (820 A.D.), proceeded to the Chien Chu Monastery (建初寺) at Hsien Yu (仙遊) in the Pei Ning district of Vietnam, and there propagated the faith. Wu Yen Tung's disciple, the monk Kan Cheng (感誠), greatly propounded the principle of the identification of one's own heart with Buddha, and the southern branch of the Meditation School thus became the mainstay of Buddhism in Vietnam. Kan Cheng taught Shan Hui (善會) of the Ting Chan Monastery (定禪寺), Shan Hui taught Yun Feng (雲峯) of the Kai Kuo Monastery (開國寺) and Yun Feng taught Kang Yueh (匡越) of the Fu To Monastery (佛陀寺). Throughout the T'ang period, the Meditation School was fully developed in that country. It was a fitting sequel to the prevalence of the teachings of the earlier Meditation School as taught by Vinitaruci in Vietnam. For Vietnam was at the time, together with Kwangtung and Kwangsi, included in the Chiao-Kwang region, and shared the effects of the early introduction of Buddhism in the earlier days, so that the development of the religion followed a common course up to the days of the T'ang dynasty.

As to the Buddhist art relics in this big region, those executed in pre-T'ang days are no more to be found. But such pieces of art executed during the T'ang period, as those I personally discovered in Kweilin and had access to at the Kwang Hsiao Monastery, still retain their special characteristics and are of considerable value. Of the Buddhist statues still in existence, the best seems to be that of Akshobya (阿閼佛) in the Kuan Yin Peak in the West Hills in Kweilin, and the next best is that of Vairocana (毗盧遮那佛) on the rocks of the right banks of the cliffs at Huan Chu Caves (還珠洞) in Fu Po Shan (伏波山). The first was dated the first year of the reign of Tiao Lu of Emperor Kao of T'ang (679 A.D.) and the second was dated in the reign of Emperor Hsuan (唐宣宗) towards the later stages of the T'ang dynasty. I propose to take these two statutes as representative types in a discussion of the special characteristics of Buddhist art in the region.

It may be pointed out that of Buddhist statues, the portions which best bear out the sculptor's technique and the special characteristics of his art, are the eyes and the nose, as well as the clothing and other decorative objectives. These vary according to practical contacts with actual persons and the technique of the sculptor as handed down from teacher to disciple. In the case of both the statues of both of Akohabya and Vairocana in question, the eyes are shallow, the eyeballs round and shallow, with their centres a little deeper, and they present a smiling and good-natured look. The bridge of the nose is prominent, but in the middle part it is undulated. The clothing is of tight fit, and there is not much attention to lines and decorations. The body shows the chest out, the belly tight, the breasts and mouth prominent, and generally there is a healthy outlook without signs of extravagant dandiness. This tallies well with the advocacy of simplicity by the Meditation School, which does not attach importance of outward show and literary magnificence. The forms of the ears and eyes are more akin to those of the people of Southern India and China, and entirely different from the deep eyes and hooked noses of the "hu" people from the northwest as traditionally known in China.

As to the statues in the Thousand Buddhas Pagoda, made of iron, in the Kwang Hsiao Monastery in Canton, though they were made in the later age of the Five Dynasties and the southern Han (南漢), the eyes, noses, and clothing also show similarities to those in the Kweilin statues. One statue, of the Maitraya Buddha (彌勒佛), is still in fair condition, and a careful study shows that it also possesses the same characteristics as the Kweilin statues. Of course, exposed to the wind and rains, the Canton statue has lost much of its original lustre and the rust of the iron has also affected its general appearance.

Moreover, the sculptures of Borobodoer (婆羅浮圖) found in the district of R. Keaoe (馬葛廚府) in central Java, executed about the time of the last days of the T'ang dynasty, also show similarities with the Kweilin statues in the eyes, noses, chests and bellies. For these characteristics appear to have been taken from the large Buddhist statues from the great Monastery at Buddhia Gaya (菩提伽野) in India, executed in the days before the T'ang dynasty. Because they were introduced directly from India and affected only by the local influences of the Chiao-Kwang region, but not by the influences of the Central Asian regions, they have thus become a distinct type by themselves.

## V

If we are to compare the conditions relating to Buddhism and its art in the, Chiao-Kwang region from the days of the late Han dynasty to the T'ang dynasty with the evolution of Buddhism and Buddhist art introduced into the northwest and central parts of China via the Tun Huang and other routes, we may say that the Chiao-Kwang region was more affected by the influences of southern India, while the northwestern and central portions of China were more affected by the influences of northern

India as well as the Central Asian regions, like Yueh Shih, and Parthia.

In the northwest and the central plains of China, Buddhism developed with the translation of the sutras. In the Chiao-Kwang region, such as in the case of Mu Jung of the last days of the Han dynasty, the spread of Buddhism began with the writing of articles in propagation of the faith. Before the days of the eastern Tsin dynasty, Buddhism in the interior of China, whatever changes it underwent, had been chiefly based on the faith as introduced via the Tun Huang route. But by the time of the Liu Sung dynasty, the Indian monks Gunabhadra and Bodhidharma proceeded to the interior of China via the Chiao-Kwang region, and there was the new tendency of the development of Buddhism from the south northward. By the time of the Emperor Kao of T'ang, the sixth Patriarch Hui Neng founded his southern branch of the School of Meditation which stressed the identification of the human heart with Buddhahood, and his faith spread so that Buddhism in China was practically overwhelmed by the teachings of this southern branch of the Meditation School. Once we grasp the fact that since the days of the Liu Sung dynasty, Buddhism began to spread from the south to the north, we may appreciate the importance of the Chiao-Kwang region in the development of Buddhism in China.

The Buddhist works of art in the T'ang dynasty found in this Chiao-Kwang region, such as the statues in the Western Hills of Kweilin and the caves at Fu Po Shan, are different from the sculptures and statues of the Tun Huang caves of the pre-Tsin (前秦) to T'ang period, the Yung Kang caves in Tatung in Shansi, and the works in Lungmen (龍門) in Loyang (洛陽), Honan. The sculptures in the Tun Huang caves are conspicuous by the designs of vines and decorative elements, which are entirely absent in the Buddhist sculptures found in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The sculptures in the Yung Kang caves at Tatung, such as the statue of Buddha of the Northern Wei (北魏) period in the 20th Cave, and that of a bodhisatva of the Sui period in the 3rd Cave, show that the eyes are deeply entrenched, the eye-balls penetrative, the noses hooked and without undulations in the bridges, the chest and the belly about the same size, and the clothing marked by numerous lines, while the decorations to the back of the statues on the walls are also complicated. These are also entirely different from those found in the Chiao-Kwang region. As to the sculptures found in the Feng Hsien Monastery (奉先寺) in Lungmen, Loyang, like that of the Lo-she-ya Buddha (盧舍那佛) of the T'ang period, and the bodhisatva on his left, show that though the bridges of the noses are slightly undulated, the eyes are deeply marked, the eyeballs penetrating, and the chests and bellies about the same size, while the lines of the clothing also more complicated, again different from those found in the Chiao-Kwang region. For all these specimens of Buddhist art had been introduced via the Tun Huang route, and had been influenced on the one hand by the Gandhara-school (健陀羅派) of art, and on the other by the work styles of various countries in Central Asia. Their magnificence and force of expression are of course not approached by the specimens found in the Chiao-Kwang region, but from the viewpoint of academic research, each has its own special characteristics which must not be arbitrarily compared.

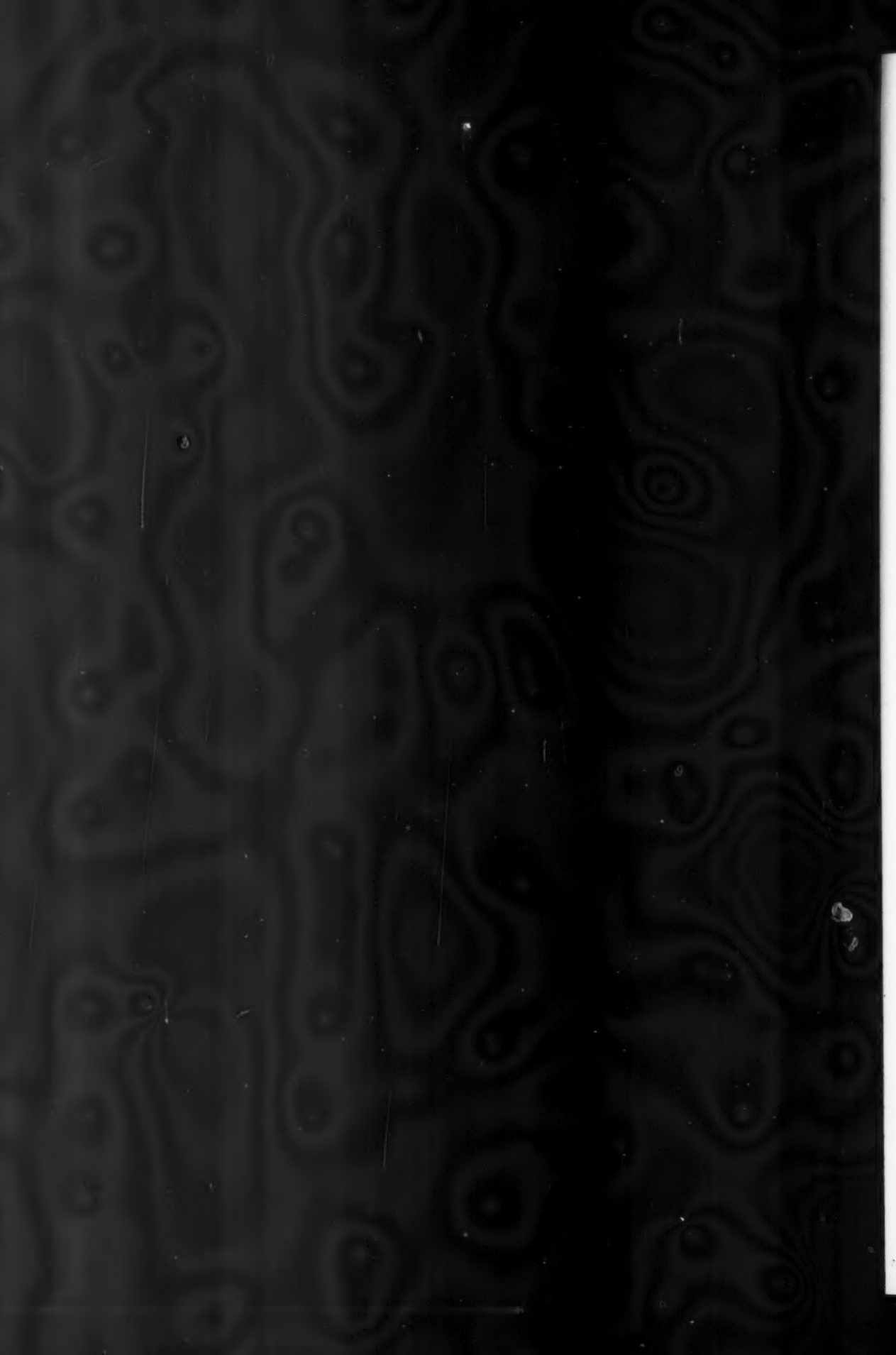


The Buddhist art relics found in this Chiao-Kwang area also differ in style from those introduced into China via the Yung Chang route: take for instance the legendary animals carved in front of the grave of Tsung Tzu (宗資墓) in the last days of the Han dynasty at Nanyang (南陽), and the same animals of the mausoleum of Prince An Cheng (梁安成王墓) of the Liang dynasty in Nanking, and we find that the backs of these animals are marked by vines as decorative material, whereas the relics found in Kwangsi, like those in Kweilin, do not carry these decorative lines at the back.

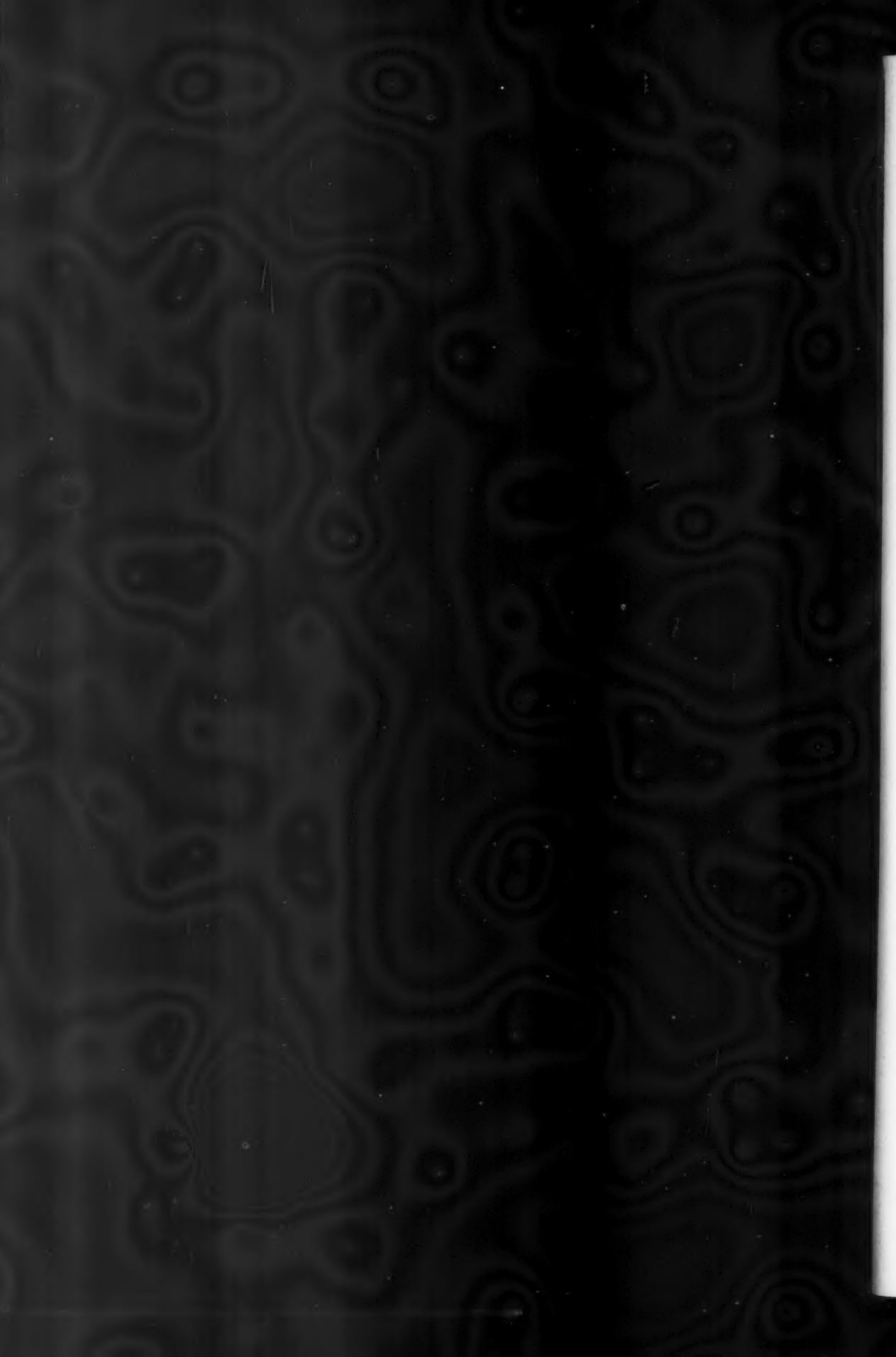
Even the sculptures of the Nan Shao (南詔) in Tali (大理) are different in style from those found in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Chang Wei-chung (張惟中), a disciple of the second generation of the 6th Patriarch Hui Neng, had visited Honan and Szechuen (四川) in propagation of the faith, and had brought the doctrine of the school of direct enlightenment to Tali, so that Buddhism in the Tali area also came under the influence of the southern branch of the Meditation School. This was, however, not related to influences produced by contact with foreign lands.

The Sui dynasty Buddhist statues on Yun Men Shan (雲門山) in Tsing Chou (青州), Shantung (山東), like the statue of the Bodhisatva in the second niche, are somewhat similar in style to the statues carved on the rocks of the Thousand Buddhas Cave (千佛巖) on Chi Hsia Shan (棲霞山) near Nanking, executed in the Hsiao Tsi (蕭齊) dynasty, and also to the Sui dynasty sculptures on various pagodas in different parts of the country. They are different from the artistic relics in Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

All these conclusions have been drawn from both old and newly discovered data connected with the spread of Buddhism in the Chiao-Kwang area. As to the detailed study of the development of the Kwang Hsiao Monastery in Canton from the Tsin to the Tang dynasties, and detailed accounts of the T'ang Buddhist statues found in Kweilin, I had previously written special articles on these subjects and they need not be repeated here.



## **Book Reviews**



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## Book Reviews

### AN OUTLINE OF ANCIENT CHINESE HISTORY

By Chang Yin-lin (張蔭麟). Edited by Sung Shee (宋曙). 130 x 186 cm., pp. viii-vi-272. 1953, China Culture Publishing Foundation, Taipei, China. Price NT\$18.00.

Among the several general histories of China published in the 1930's, the unfinished one written by the late Professor Chang Yin-lin is a masterpiece. In Chinese historiography, the 1930's is a period distinguished for the production of many a good work on general history. No less than ten works seriously written and by celebrated historians were published, or began being published, in these years. Ideologically the vogue implies something of national self-consciousness intensified by the unification of 1928 and the new menace of the Japanese aggression, and academically each of the said works has an intrinsic value in its own right. And, among them, the one under review attains the summit in its broadness of knowledge and lucid treatment, its power of expression and imaginative insight.

The failure of a general history to be a good reader, more often than not, can be ascribed sometimes to heaviness of style, and sometimes to oversimplification. In the former case, history becomes a tiresome heaping-up of factual items, which one may qualify not by way of compliment as encyclopaedic; and in the latter it is made lifeless and unimpressive and misleading as is often the case with oversimplification. In order to escape from either pitfall, Professor Chang set up three unmistakable goals towards which the book was to be written. These are (1) an effective presentation in the form of story-telling, based on a comprehensive grasp of the results of earlier and contemporary researches, (2) a proper synthesis of concrete particulars against a background of well-supported generalizations, and (3) an even treatment of social changes, intellectual activities, and influential historical characters. To steer a middle course between masses of facts and great generalizations is certainly a test of the historian's art. This, however, the author carried out successfully. As a result, the book shows a rapid succession of well-chosen factual details standing out in relief, with generalized descriptions filling in the background. To use Ranke's diction, it is a picture of "particulars" seen in their broad "relatedness." The vocabulary the author mastered is charged with color and warmth which, in addition, give the picture life and movement. And, under all the picturesque, a student of history can see how great an effort was made by the author to render his presentation judicious and conclusive. Literary sources were checked with archaeological evidence, chronicles supplemented with inscriptions, and ancient texts read in the light of modern criticism.

To make a picture in relief implies the subordination of detail, which, in turn, implies the choice of typical details. And the truth of the picture depends at last upon the discrimination and honesty with which the choice is made. The four standards, namely that of novelty, of practical effect, of cultural value, and of genetic relation with present situation, which the author established for use as a basis of choice, will certainly arouse no possible opposition. His ingenuity in keeping with these standards makes his work at once accurate, new, and illuminating. His express denial of didacticism to be a good standard of the historian is also judicious in a sense, especially in view of the presumptuous role didacticism has assumed in traditional Chinese historiography. That open-mindedness should not mean to be void of moral sense has been set forth by modern historians such as Salvemini and Meinecke. As a matter of fact, in spite of the author's intention to abstain from didacticism, a sense of truth, of beauty, and of goodness is appreciably alive throughout his work. And it is also this moral sense which fills these pages with so strong a sense of reality, and unfold much life and significance inhering in the characters, their doings and thinking our author chose to present.

These standards, put together with the two categories, causality and development, in which the author was to draw the great lines of historical process, make his idea of history a kindred of Meinecke's New Historicism. The mental height which he attained enabled him to take history in as a whole, see the relation of part to part, and follow the unifying lines that bound them together. The synthesis he carried out at last is simply marvelous. At times he called reproductive imagination to his aid to make complete pictures from separate fragments, as is shown in the description he gave to the cities of the "Annals" period; and, sometimes, a single sentence was used to sum up the essential character of an entire period, as to him, "What disturbed at times the calmness of the Chow (周朝) feudal society were festivals and wars." We should refrain from cavilling, or try to find further facts, in a book of general history like this. What interests us most is its readability, nurtured with a scholar's honesty and an artist's perspective. In this respect the book has truly reached a point which we may look upon as the culmination of the historian's art. It is not to say, of course, that the book is perfect to such an extent as to be beyond any reasonable criticism. There is still something to say even in its very plan. One may doubt, for instance, whether it is legitimate, as the book does, to begin a general history with recorded history only. That a section of less than four pages is inserted to relate the legends belonging to periods preceding the Shang (商) Dynasty, without resorting to any archaeological discoveries, seems ungainly even to the freest mind. Moreover, in reconstructing the Shang period, owing to scarcity of literary sources, the author resorted greatly to archaeological information. But, when he proceeded to treat the succeeding periods, he changed abruptly to the literary, and passed material sources in silence except for the purpose of checking. An unfortunate result is that, while a detailed description of material life and useful arts had been given to the Shang period, it was indifferently neglected in the picture of later periods.

The work was started, in the author's own words, two years before the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937) and, since then, appeared in parts from time to time in Chinese journals. It was first published in book form under the title *Chung-kuo Shih Kang, Book One* (中國史綱·第一冊, *An Outline of Chinese History, Book One*), in 1941 by the History Department, National Chekiang University. This first edition contains eight chapters, beginning with "the dawn of Chinese history", and ending with "the years *inter* Ch'in (秦) and Han (漢)," with a short preface by the author. A revised and enlarged edition which, with a few changes in the arrangement of chapters, brings the history down to the period of Wang Mang (王莽) was published soon afterwards by the Ch'in Nien Book Company (青年書店), Chungking; and a third edition, published by the Cheng Chung Book Company (正中書局), Taipei, in 1948, makes few substantial changes in its contents. The new edition under review is, therefore, the fourth edition of this unfinished work, and the most complete, too. It contains twelve chapters, bringing the history down to the end of the Han Dynasty, two prefaces by the author, one to the first edition and the other to the revised edition, a prologue and an essay on historical method, both by the author, and, at the end, an editor's colophon giving facts about the production of the work. The editor Mr. Sung Shee, a Chinese scholar at Columbia University, U. S. A., is a former student of the author. Professor Chang died (1942) at the time when the revised edition was published. It has been sixteen years since his death, and yet, in modern Chinese historiography, the book he wrote remains a matchless masterpiece, unfinished though it is.

Teh-chao Wang

Normal University of Taiwan

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### CONFUCIAN METAPHYSICS

By Stanislaus Lokuang. Published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation. Price NT\$17.00.

Among our men of learning, Msgr. Lokuang is eminent for his research and practice of truth. He has written much. Among his works are two volumes of poetry "The Bells of Rome" (Nanking, 1948) and "Evening Songs to the Sea" (Hong Kong, 1950); a volume of essays "Intimate Experiences of Life" (Hong Kong, 1950); five volumes of biography: "The Life of Lou-tsing-tsiang" (Hong Kong, 1949); "The Life of Paul Shou-kuang-ci" (Hong Kong, 1953), "The Life of St. Pius X" (Hong Kong, 1954), "The Life of Mary" (Hong Kong, 1954), "The Life of Christ" (Formosa, 1957); a volume of theology "Christian Doctrine" (Hong Kong, 1955); and three volumes on Chinese philosophy: "A Synthesis of Chinese Philosophy" (2 vols. Hong Kong, 1951) and "Confucian Metaphysics" (Formosa, 1957).

In his preface to "The Life of Christ", Dr. John Wu has this to say about the value of these works:

"Ordinarily the works of one author decrease in intrinsic value as their number increases. One man's capacity is always limited. If an author manages to write one or two books of some value during his life, he should consider himself fortunate. The quantity of Msgr. Lokuang's writings has now become considerable. I cannot say that every book of his is a work of minute research and exquisite sensibility. Yet in reading his recent publications, such as "The Life of Lou-tsing-tsiang", "Intimate Experiences of Life", "A Synthesis of Chinese Philosophy", and "Christian Doctrine", it seems to me that each work is better than the one that preceded it. An increase in number has brought with it an increase of doctrinal value. This is not a common occurrence. The reason for it is twofold. In the first place, Msgr. Lokuang has a thirst for knowledge. He always has a book in hand. In this way his scientific knowledge increases continually. No wonder that his later works are better than the earlier ones. Where there is greater abundance of ideas, there is a wider choice of material. The man who possesses greater sources of research has mastery over his subject. In the second place, Msgr. Lokuang's love of God grows stronger over the years, and so he has a greater share of divine grace. If we rely on our own capacities and our own studies, our capacities and our studies will wear themselves out soon indeed. But if we rely on God's grace, we move forward in newness without fear of exhausting our talents. A person has unlimited capacity only when he is aware of his own limitation. It is only when a man is sincere with himself that he can move forward. That is the wonder of the supernatural life."

And Dr. Wu is correct.

Msgr. Lokuang has given a systematic exposition of Confucian Metaphysics in his courses of Chinese philosophy at the University of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. These lectures were elaborated and published in the Chinese review "The New Voice of the Priest", of which he is editor. They are now gathered into one volume under the title of "Confucian Metaphysics" and form part of the fourth series of fundamental scientific studies edited by the China Culture Publishing Foundation of Formosa. The volume consists of an introduction and eight chapters: Confucian gnoseology, monism and dualism in Confucian cosmology, cosmological evolution, ontological substance, the spirit in Confucian thought, man in neo-Confucianism, psychology, virtue in neo-Confucianism.

Msgr. Lokuang's book is a step ahead in the study of Chinese philosophy. Leaving aside the work of other authors, he expounds the metaphysical concepts of Confucianism with new and profound insight. This volume is a worthy successor to the two volumes of synthesis of Chinese philosophy.



Wide-spread opinion among Sinologists alleges that Confucian philosophy is lacking in metaphysical concepts. The author of this volume has exposed the exaggeration of these Sinologists' opinion. He has gathered a large number of these Confucian metaphysical concepts and has made a profound investigation into their true meaning. The ontological constitution of the Universe, of the Substance, of human nature and the metaphysical base of the moral virtues have found a skilled exposition in this book. One may object that the method of this exposition may have suffered from a scholastic system. But it seems to us that the scholastic system is the more adequate system for explaining Confucian philosophy.

The author's love of our traditional culture should be a source of encouragement for our young people in the study of our heritage and at the same time a valuable indication of the road to national salvation and cultural reconstruction.

China's long history based on traditional culture has enabled her to preserve an unbeaten spirit and a vital source of renewed vigor. Yet Professor Chang-er-tien had this to say in his recent article on Chinese culture and religion:

"The neo-Confucian school of the Song dynasty, which took the place of the critical school of the Han dynasty, exercised an enormous influence on our people. The government conferred extraordinary prestige on it and made its teaching the norm for public examinations. But eight centuries have passed now. At the beginning of the Tsing dynasty, philosophers preferred to follow the masters of the Song dynasty: Huang-li-chou followed Lou and Wang, K'ou-lin-lin followed Chen and Tcheou, Wang-chuan-shan followed Chang. Although in the course of time these masters tended to put more emphasis on criticism, the neo-Confucian basis remained. Yen-sci-tsai and Tsai-tung-yuan, arguing from ancient texts tried in vain to destroy this remaining basis. Now Western systems have invaded China and have overturned the foundations of Chinese culture. Metaphysics has fallen into ruin; Confucian morality is in danger too. It is still too early to say who will win and who will lose. Present-day scholars who treat of Chinese philosophy always include a chapter on the neo-Confucian school. The fruit of this method of study is an increase of knowledge, but not of the life of the tradition."

These are disturbing words, but they lead us to value the volume of Msgr. Lokuang even more.

The books of the Jesuit missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries sowed the seeds of a revival of Chinese culture. During the centuries that followed, China was the scene of a continued conflict between East and West; that conflict has now spread all over the world. It is our task to make our culture bloom again. In the preface to this book, Msgr. Lokuang writes:

"Chinese philosophical thought most certainly has its defects. This need not make us ashamed of being Chinese, however, nor dampen the fervor of our patriotism. It should merely incite us to correct the mistakes in our philosophy and fill up the gaps in Confucianism."

These words help bolster up our self-confidence and invite us to begin work on national rebuilding.

Confucian Metaphysics is a systematic study of ontological being and nature; Confucian ethics is outside its scope. However, Confucian morality is closely connected with its metaphysics, so closely, in fact, that ethics is the center of the whole Confucian system. Moreover, Confucian morality must serve as the foundation for the rebuilding of our country. It is our hope that Msgr. Lokuang will give us a systematic exposition of Confucian ethics in another volume.

Liang Tze-han

#### CHINESE CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY

*Selected Works of Paul K. T. Sih. China Culture Publishing Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, China, 1957.*

Culture has been satisfactorily defined as the ennoblement of human life by human arts and human ingenuity, or, more briefly, the all-round humanization of man by man. If this definition is adhered to, there should be no excuse for any confusion in the separate roles of natural culture and supernatural religion in human society. Christianity is not a culture and it never has been nor can it ever be identified with any particular culture. Culture is local, Christian thought is universal. If some Christians misguidedly look back to the Middle Ages or to early Christian times as being eras which saw the full-flourishing of the perfect Christian society, they are guilty of a confusion between true religion and the cultural expression of that religion. Christian thought is of its essence supercultural, and no culture, on the other hand, can ever become what Christianity is—a supernatural religion. If culture is the humanization of man by man, Christianity is the spiritualization of man by God. Christian Humanism is not the opponent of any human culture, for it must first respect and treasure all that is good and valuable in any civilization before it can sanctify it by its spiritual gifts.

It is true, of course, that many missionaries in the East have thought it necessary to introduce the cultural forms of Western civilization along with the supernatural message of the Gospel. That this is not the true mind of the Church is shown in the very first years of the Christian era, for it was no less a person that St. Paul, the Apostle

of the Gentiles, who fought so strenuously and so successfully against the idea that the adoption of Christian thought implied the adoption of Jewish culture. Modern missionaries have realized their human error, and, in India and China and Japan, efforts are bent towards the adoption and adaptation of the ancient Eastern cultures with a view, not to syncretism, but to their ultimate supernaturalization. In this, these modern missionaries are but following the example of these two great 17th century missionaries—De Nobili in India and Matteo Ricci, in China.

To confirm this, we need only refer to a book recently published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation in Taipei. It is entitled *Chinese Culture and Christianity: Selected Works of Dr. Paul K. T. Sih*. In reading through these valuable essays, one has a glimpse of a great people whose philosophy seems to furnish as rich a soil as one could find anywhere for the growth of a great and Christian civilization. In the sphere of natural religion China has gone almost to the limits in its working out of an exalted way of life. From Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist elements, China established at its zenith as great a civilization as is possible by human efforts alone. The silence of China on the nature of God and on relationship with Him is not necessarily to be interpreted as indifference or irreligion. As Dr. Sih recalls, even as great a Western rationalist as St. Thomas Aquinas admitted that, in the last analysis, the final knowledge we have of God is "that we know not God." Before Him, all our human concepts are of little value. China, particularly in the person of Lao-tzu, acknowledged the inexpressibility of the supernatural in human terms. Such limits as are made by Chinese philosophers as to the ultimate nature of Heaven or the Tao are undoubtedly capable of expansion and illumination in the light of Christian thought and theology. In particular, Dr. Sih draws attention to the concept of Natural Law as expounded by Mencius and shows its basic similarity with the thought of St. Paul. In fact, to read the works of Mencius is to be drawn to ponder again the Christian belief that no great culture is purely and entirely human, if only because it teaches that a divine revelation was made to man at the very dawn of history. There can be little doubt that, in time, Confucius, Mencius and Lao-tzu will join Aristotle and Plato in the esteem of Christian theologians and philosophers as pre-Christian bearers of truth.

Dr. Sih's collected essays range outside these topics into questions of the fundamental problems of all Asian countries, of the essentially anti-Chinese Communist ideology of Mao Tze-tung, of the policy of the United Nations and the United States towards China, and of other related topics. But there is little doubt that Dr. Chang Chi-yun, the non-Christian Minister of Education in the Republic of China who has written the Preface to this book, pin-points the central thought of the whole book when he writes: "All natural philosophies have their limitations. No matter how highly endowed, they cannot find what they do not seek; and they cannot seek what only faith can seek, if they have not the faith. Therefore, we must seek the divine source which transcends reason and goes beyond human knowledge. This being true,

the moral teachings of Confucius can be very well supplemented and fulfilled by the spirituality of Christ." This is the profound belief of Dr. Sih, of his friend and teacher Dr. John C. H. Wu, and of other eminent Chinese scholars who, in becoming Christians, have not become less Chinese for doing so. As long as true culture and true religion recognize the limitations of their different spheres of influence in an organic conception of human life, the adoption of Christian religion need not and should not imply a sort of cultural denationalization. In Japan, if Shinto recognizes that it is the essence of the Japanese way of life on the natural plane, there is no reason why the Japanese should not be Shintoist and Christian at the same time. Indeed, the Christian believes that the adoption of Christianity—and only the adoption of Christianity—can stimulate the full flowering of any human culture, be it Japanese, Indian, Chinese or Western. Christ said: "I am come that they may have life, and have it more abundantly" (John, X, 10).

To the end of time, human reason will never be able to expound the full meaning of the Christian truths, for God—the central Truth—is infinite. Theologians and philosophers will ever lovingly explore the implications of the Christian religion, but, being human, they can do this only in the light of their own culture. For many centuries, the Graeco-Roman culture of the West has been examining the supernatural truths of Christianity, and as Christianity is something to be lived and not merely to be excogitated, the best text-book on the results of their labours is to be found in the volume entitled *Lives of the Saints*. Now it is the turn of the East. There is no doubt that the spreading of the Gospel will bring great spiritual truths to the people of China. But who can say what great benefits and insights China will bring to the Christian thought and principles? It is the merit of Dr. Paul Sih's book that from it we can gain some hints as to what direction the answer to this tremendous question will take. East and West are indebted to him for publishing it.

Mark Doughty  
Spinkhill, England

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#### A SYMPOSIUM ON SINO-VIETNAMESE CULTURE

By Kuo Ting-i and others. Published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation, Taipei, China, 1956. Price NT\$15.00.

The book under review is a symposium of 18 articles dealing with various aspects of Sino-Vietnamese culture. The authors are either outstanding scholars of this culture or have lived in Vietnam for a number of years and are well versed in its institutions. They discuss the Sino-Vietnamese traditional relations from dif-

ferent angles. Some of them take up this subject from the racial, political or economic point of view, while others make a historical study of the Sino-Vietnamese cultural exchange on archaeological, geographical, intellectual, social or cultural grounds. The views they express and the position they take in their discussions are plausible and worthy of high commendation. This is, indeed, to my knowledge, one of the best books dealing with the Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Vietnam was originally a part of China. In ancient times it was also called Viet Shang (越裳氏). It was then a sister country of China, because of close cultural and racial ties. In ancient Chinese history at different periods it was referred to as Chiao Chow (交州), Cochin (交趾), and Hsiang Chun (象郡). These, however, did not include the whole of Vietnam. For instance, Hanoi in Northern Vietnam was denominated as Cochin County (交趾郡); Ching Hua (清化) in Central Vietnam, as Chiao Chen County (九真郡); and Hue in Southern Vietnam, as Jih Nan County (日南郡) in the Han dynasty.

At the end of the Tang dynasty there were internal wars between ten kingdoms in China. In 939 Wu Chuan (吳權) defeated the army of the Court of Han in Southern China and conquered Chiao Chow (交州), proclaiming himself king. Thus Vietnam became independent of China.

With the rise and fall of dynasties, the national entity of Vietnam changed from time to time, and it assumed different denominations at different dynasties. Chronologically it has been called Annam (安南), Ta Chu Viet (大瞿越), Ta Viet Kuo (大越國), Cochin Kuo (交趾國), and Ta Nan Kuo (大南國). Not until the establishment of the Court of Hue (阮王朝), did it acquire the present name of Vietnam.

In olden times, although Vietnam was politically independent, yet it respected China as its overlord. With every change of dynasty, the new ruler requested investiture from the Chinese Emperor in order to establish his legal status. For instance, Juan Fu-ying (阮福映), the first king of the Court of Hue, started a rebellion in Gia Dinh (嘉定) in 1776. After conquering the whole of Vietnam in 1802, he despatched envoys bearing tribute to China with a view to obtaining for himself the imperial approval on his accession as the new sovereign.

In his request for investiture, he asked the Chinese Emperor to change the name of his new kingdom into Nan Yueh (南越) to replace the old name of Viet Shang (越裳). In view of the fact that the Chinese provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi were added to the kingdom of Nan Viet (南越), the Manchu Court invested the new ruler with the title of King of Viet Nan (越南). It was further provided that tribute should be paid to the Chinese Emperor every three years.

Throughout ancient history, China was the only great power in Asia. The



principles governing the relations with her small neighboring countries were based on the lofty moral conception that the Chinese Emperor should be responsible for preserving their existence and helping them in time of danger. She treated them as younger brothers. Except for receiving articles of tribute, China adopted a "hands off" policy with regard to their internal affairs. But when revolts broke out in these neighboring countries, as in Korea, China would send armed forces to suppress them without demanding any reward.

This selfless spirit of helping one's neighbors had become the guiding principle governing the international relations in Asia. From 1867 to 1876 the Chinese Imperial Government, at the request of Vietnam, sent armed forces to help the latter suppress internal revolts three times. In his diary recording foreign requests for military assistance, Tang Ching-sung (唐景崧) said that the Chinese government rendered military assistance to Vietnam for 20 years and spent more than 10 million taels to help them. The Manchu Court plunged into war with France trying in vain to save Vietnam from French annexation. This spirit of upholding justice for its neighbors at the risk of its national security bespeaks well the traditional friendship between China and Vietnam. It is well that this group of writers have stirred our memories.

Of the articles on Sino-Vietnamese culture, *Historical Relations between China and Vietnam* by Kuo Ting-i; *Sino-Vietnamese Relations during the last 20 Centuries* by Lao Kan; *Historical Relations between Vietnam and China* by Chu Yun-ying; *An Outline of Diplomatic Relations between China and Vietnam* by Tao Jung; and *Vietnam at the Beginning of the Sung Dynasty* by Chen Ching-ho are the outstanding treatises on this subject.

The first-mentioned article by Mr. Kuo, Director of the History and Language Department of the Academia Sinica, is worthy of our special commendation. He has made an historical study of Sino-Vietnamese relations tracing the causes and results of important events as well as the benefits of cultural exchange between these two countries. In this article he pointed out *inter alia* that, during the fall of the Sung dynasty and rise of the Yuan dynasty, large numbers of loyal subjects of the Sung Court fled to Vietnam not only to escape ill-fate at the hands of the Yuan government, but also to seek foreign aid with which they hoped they would stage a comeback and restore their ruling power. When Yuan troops launched an attack on Annam, Viet Chung (越忠) organized the Sung refugees (who wore Sung costumes and used arrows and bows) and joined the Annamese army against the Yuan troops. The Yuan army, alarmed at the presence of the Sung armed forces, was defeated. This historical event tends to prove that the overseas Chinese in Vietnam have certain characteristics different from those of Chinese in other parts of Southeast Asia. Mr. Kuo mentioned another significant point in his article. He said that Li Hung-chang, then High Commissioner, in concluding the Treaty of Tientsin with France in 1885, recognized the latter's protection over Annam. This concession, made at a time when the Chinese Black Flags won a great

victory over the French troops at Lang Son (諒山) was regarded as an inexcusable measure in the minds of the Chinese. But Mr. Kuo pointed out the causes which forced Li to make this concession. He said, "China and France struggled for hegemony over Annam for four long years. In this struggle, China found herself in a disadvantageous position from the beginning to the end. The victory over the French army at Lang Son could not guarantee an ever-victorious China through a prolonged war. Furthermore, Taiwan was blockaded and the situation became critical. If Taiwan were lost to the enemy, it could hardly be recovered. What worried Li most was Japan's twice seizing the opportunity offered by the Sino-French struggle over Annam, to instigate revolts in Korea from 1882-84. Li deeply appreciated the difficulty of dealing with Japan and France simultaneously. To China, according to Li's views, Japan presented a greater danger than France. It was more urgent to deal with Japan than with France."

Another article entitled *Historical Relations between China and Vietnam* by Mr. Chu is an analysis of this subject on archaeological, anthropological, political and economic grounds. The historical evidences he produced in this article will help the reader to acquire a correct and comprehensive understanding of the development of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Other articles of significance are as follows:

*Close Sino-Vietnamese Relations from a Geographical Point of View* by Mr. Wang Yi-yai is an analytical study of this subject from geographical, geological, topographical and climatic points of view as well as on the basis of sea and land communications and distribution of natural resources. Several important maps are attached thereto. This article contributes greatly to the knowledge of how to make use of the geographical facilities offered by Vietnam in our counter-offensive on the mainland if there should be a military alliance between China and Vietnam.

Two other articles, *Chinese and Vietnamese Races* and *Racial and Cultural Relations between China and Vietnam* by Mr. Jai Yi and Mr. Wei Hui-ling respectively are an analysis of the conditions under which the Vietnamese exodus took place. They both show that the Vietnamese and the aborigines in Southwest China came from the same family, because there is a great similarity between their social and cultural institutions as well as between their customs and traditions.

Mr. Lo Hwei's article on *Confucianism in Vietnam* testifies to the great influence of Confucianism on Vietnamese political, educational and intellectual thoughts. The existence of Confucian temples in various places in Vietnam, the periodic examinations held to select talents and books on Confucianism by Vietnamese are living evidences that the Vietnamese worship Confucius.

Mr. Peng Kuo-liang's two articles, *Chinese Poetry in Vietnam* and *Sino-Vietnamese Relations at the Last Stage of the Ming Dynasty*; Mr. Peter Chang's article, *Written Correspondence between China and Vietnam*; Mr. Chu Jung-chen's article, *Sino-Viet*

*namese Music, Ancient and Modern*; Mr. Su Tze's article, *Folktales and Festivals in Vietnam*; and Fang Hou's article, *Vietnam's Position in China's Communications with Foreign Countries before the Yuan Dynasty* all give a thorough study of the historical Sino-Vietnamese cultural relations from different angles. They are worthy of careful reading.

Ever since Vietnam became a French colony, the diplomatic relations between China and Vietnam were suspended for a great many years.

The Chinese are happy that the Republic of Vietnam came into existence on October 23, 1955. Both China and Vietnam are now finding themselves in more or less the same situation, facing the same Communist aggression. Through the perusal of the above articles, the reader will recall the traditional friendship between China and Vietnam. Both the governments and the peoples of these two countries should cultivate mutual understanding, channel their conceptions in their respective social, political and economic institutions and promote reestablishment of close mutual collaboration.

Ch'en I-ling

(Translated by C. Ou-yang)

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#### BIOGRAPHIES OF FAMOUS OVERSEAS CHINESE

*Edited by Chou Hsueh-sia, published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation, Sept. 1955. Price NT\$14.00.*

This book is the result of an attempt that has been made to furnish the biographies of twenty leading overseas Chinese who deserve a place in the history of self-made men.

This book gives a detailed account of how the traditional Chinese virtues enabled them to perform their duty to both the spiritual and material facets of our national revolution. All the noble deeds of these hard-working heroes produce a profound impression upon the reader.

Most of them, as pioneer spirits, went abroad to develop new lands and enterprises in both economic and commercial fields. Still others were true patriots or revolutionary comrades. Although they differ in many ways, they have a remarkable unity of action, which is, loyalty to their ancestral homes. All facts point to the same conclusion, which is, that the spirit of the Chinese nation is both noble and consolidating. It has given us a better understanding of what the overseas Chinese have done.

From this book we know firstly, that the overseas Chinese launched their career under very unfavorable circumstances. They have whole-heartedly struggled with unyielding firmness in perfect unity, withstanding all adversities without assistance from our homeland or from our government. Some of them are men of great resources and have a genius in pioneering work. Such men as Cheng Shao (鄭照), Lo Fang Peh (羅芳伯), Yeh Lai (葉來), Lin Feng (林鳳), Moh Tsing Jeou (莫敬玖), Pan Ching Jean (潘清簡) are excellent examples of these qualities and whose leadership is respected by all the overseas Chinese. Moreover, our leading overseas Chinese have made many contributions to their respective overseas domiciles.

Yet, because of the gradual decline of the Ching Dynasty, many of the accomplishments of these overseas leaders became fruitless.

The overseas Chinese laid stress on economic developments and were unconcerned with political ambitions. The purpose of their immigration was co-existence and mutual prosperity for both the peoples of foreign countries and themselves. Their ability to spread continually abroad and flourish all over the world was not by violent aggression, but by rendering assistance in the development of local resources and stimulating commerce.

Secondly, during the time of immigration they were usually destitute. Through hard work and frugal living they built a strong foundation for the industry and commerce of their respective countries. Upon gaining wealth, they voluntarily aided the poor and did what they could for the welfare of the public, thus exhibiting the traditional Chinese virtues. Men such as Chen Chien Shan (陳謙善), Cheng Chih Yeong (鄭智勇), Chang Pyi Shih (張弼士), Hwang Tsung Han (黃仲涵), Yao Teh Sheng (姚德勝), Hu Wen Hu (胡文虎), Hu Kuo Lien (胡國廉), and Tsien Shao Lan (簡南照) are prime examples of this virtue. They lived by the proverb: "When you get something from others, share it." Many schools, homes for the poor and orphanages were established, and many other relief works participated in. All that they did was beneficial both to the foreign citizens and our compatriots.

Thirdly, our overseas compatriots want only to live in peace and enjoy their prosperity. They are able to endure hardship and oppression but continually strive for freedom and peace. In order to obtain just and equal treatment, they eagerly hope that their homeland becomes stronger and more powerful, increasing its prestige amongst its neighboring countries. The longer they were away from their ancestral homes, the more concern for their country they felt. They made many great contributions to our country for the cause of the national revolution, unifying the country, winning the Sino-Japanese war, and strengthening the movements against Communism and Russia. Some of them even sacrificed their entire property for the sake of saving the nation. Deng Ying Lan (鄧蔭南), Sun Mei Kung (孫眉公), Chuang Ying An (莊銀安), Weng Ping Cheng (溫炳臣), and Lin Mao Seng (林謀盛) are amongst those whose unselfish acts will be remembered forever. Yet, they left behind many things which need our efforts to complete.

Though this book was written collectively, its contents meet the need for an objective and factual record of our leading overseas Chinese. It especially gives accounts of the hard struggles endured by many and brings to light the many traditional virtues, so necessary to the fulfillment of their careers.

Cheng Koun-ying

A GENERAL HISTORY OF TAIWAN (T'aiwan T'ung-shih )

By Lien Heng. Published by the China Series Publishing Committee, Taipei, Taiwan, 1955. 8vo. (6-) 13-15-792pp. with 19 folding charts and notices.\*

This book is the well-known second edition of the *General History of Taiwan*, which was published in Taiwan in 1921, republished at Shanghai with revisions in 1937 and added to the first edition with a biography of the author as appendix. Lien Heng (連橫), tse Wu Kung (字武公), Hao Ya Tang (號雅堂) and Chien Hua Hsien Shen (劍花先生) (18 January 1878-28 June 1936), was born in a family emigrated to Tainan after the end of the Ming dynasty, and thus he had double fidelity to China against the Ching (清) and Japan. He reached adult age at the moment when Formosa, after several months of false liberty, again changed its masters. So he took the most pure form of patriotism to devote himself to his study. As the book is in written language and in simple style on the models of dynastic histories, it keeps the divisions adaptable to their new subject. Its 36 chapters (*Chuan* 卷), subdivided into 80 sections (*Pien* 篇), and distributed in 4 "annals" (*Ki* 紀), 24 "treatises" (*chih* 志) which incorporated 101 tables (*Piao* 表) (plus one in the second *Ki*) and 8 "biographies" (*Lieh Chuan* 列傳) in 60 individual or collective notices. We can find in these last parts the absence of "barbarians" which happened to be the first inhabitants of the Island. They are in a way replaced by the "pirates" (*Haikou* 海寇 *Ki* 32, 1), the pioneers in the East, *Tai Tung Chih Chih* (*Ki* 31, 5) and perhaps the "external relations" (*Wai Chiao* 外交, including Japan, Philippines, England, U.S.A. and France) in *Ki* 14. But it missed neither the great ministers nor the loyal subjects, nor the renowned women, the literates and the famous names. The author, a Formosan Chinese, wanted a Chinese Formosa. So in this book, the *Ki* (紀) are *Pen Ki* (本紀) or chronological history of the imperial annals. This history traces down from the origins to 15th year of *Yung Li* (永曆) (the 18th year of *Shun*).

\* Translated by Mr. Lo Lung from the original French of the review as published by the Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft A.G., Basel, in *Sinologica*, Vol. V, No. 1.



*Chih* (順治) 1661) as its first chapter; from the end of the 15th to the 37th year of *Yung Li* 1683 (22nd *Kang Si* 康熙), as its second chapter; from the end of this year to the 20th year of *Kuang Shu* (光緒) 1894, as its third chapter, the fourth chapter is the shortest one which begins from the 21st year of *Kuang Shu* to the attempt of Independence, until the 4th day of the 9th month, i.e. 21 October 1895, when Tainan was taken by Japanese troops. As he had not recognized the Ching in 1683 until the fall of Penhu (Pescadores), the author stops at the day when Taiwan of the Mings and Coxinga was destroyed by Ching. These four chapters form as many epochs of different duration and events, which are: the Overture (*Kai Pi* 開闢), the Foundation (*Chien Kuo* 建國), the Expansion (*Chin Yin* 經營) and the Independence (*Tu Li* 獨立). It is a periodization of the History, bearing the interest of inner characteristics. From the Chinese point of view, and the fortune of Formosa and the facts furnished by sources from China, it is natural for the author to put emphasis of those chapters, particularly in the *Chih* (志), in two central periods. I have pointed out what is the meaning of this expansion in the *Journal Asiatique* (CCXLIII 1955, p. 122). As for antiquity, the author insisted to put in his texts and their undecided tradition something between myth and history. Why did Hsu Fu (徐福), who was dispatched by Ching Shih Huang (秦始皇) to locate the Immortal Island, not colonize in Formosa? This, even the waves of the Eastern Sea could not tell. Geographical analogy has brought together Peng Lai (蓬萊) of Japan, Fang Chang (方丈) of Ryukyu (琉球) and Ying Chow (瀛洲) of Formosa. And phonetic analogy has made, a little forcibly, Taiwan sound like Tai (Yu) and Yuan (Chiao) (岱輿, 員嶠) of the five cosmic mountains of Lieh Tse (列子 V. 2) in which Fang Hu (方壺) sounded so well as Penhu of Pescadores. The less unreal opinion is that which finds Formosa the insular and barbarous place in the East of Kwei Chih (會稽) as the Yi Chow (夷洲) (according to the *Hou Han Shu* 115 in fine 後漢書), or which assigned to Penhu the remainders of Yueh (越) expelled to the sea since 333 B.C. The author observes that the historic certainty only begins from the Sui (隋) dynasty. According to the *Hai Fang Kao* (海防考), Penhu was populated with hunters and fishermen since *Kai Huang* (開皇) (at the end of the 6th century A.D.), but it was only in the 6th year of *Ta Yeh* (大業 610 A.D.) that, in accordance with the *Sui Shu* (隋書 64, 9), Hu Pen Chen Ling took Liu Kiu (琉球) in a memorable expedition. Until the thirteenth century, people still confused Liu Kiu with Formosa. The natives took the war vessels for merchant ships and came close for exchange of goods. The Chinese destroyed them in one month, killed the King, captured his son, and brought back thousands of prisoners. Ho Chiao Yuan (何喬遠) of Ming dynasty, also remarked in his *Ming Shu* (閩書) that in Fu Lu Shan (福廬山) of Fuchow, there were such descendants. The first impression of Chinese in Taiwan was so bloody, though the barbarians had on their part some error and they were not always so hospitable.

A Japanese monk Enchin (圓珍) left Japan in August 853 (the 7th year of *Ta Chung* 大中) on board a Chinese merchant ship, and was carried by winds to

wards Liu Kiu, where he found many spears and sabers. Fortunately, at the mercy of Fudo (不動尊), he reached Fukien. Liukiu-Formosa was a place of five-day journey to Kien An (建安) (Suei Shu 81, 5) where lived Hala-Kara (哈喇渴刺) of Liukiu-Okinawa (琉球-冲繩), it was near Japan and away from Luzon (Yun Chow Wen Kao 雲洲文稿). Towards the middle of the 7th century, the Malaysians who were escaping the flood of the Malay Peninsula, came to settle down in Formosa, and due to the defeat of the natives by Suei at that time, they got a chance to set their feet on the Western coast. The author naively called this the debut of foreign encroachments. These Malaysians reinforced, drove back the natives, divided up the province and launched from Formosa the first piracy at the sea. The most skilful ones bargained with the mountaineers of the Philippines. Sze Kien Wu (施肩吾), a literary man of Kiang Si (江西) settled down in the Pescadores in the 9th century, but the relationship with official China ceased shortly after. The war of five dynasties and of Sung (五代與宋) drove towards Taiwan the riparians of Chang Chow and Chuan Chow (漳州 & 泉州) of Fukien; they established there the market of Pei Kiang (Bak Kang 北港) which was the other name of Formosa in ancient texts. As a place of asylum, Formosa received the remainders of the last Sung. The Yuan (元) in 1281 (the 18th year of Chi Yuan 至元), reached the Formosan Canal after the experience of attacking Kyushiu (九州). Falsely instructed by the local Chinese officials, they were embarrassed to reach Liu Kiu, and pretended that it was also subdued. In Yuan Chi 210, 6, of the year 1291 (the 28th year of Chi Yuan), there was a tragicomic testimony. The Kin (金), after defeat by the Mongols, had also taken refuge in Formosa. In the year of Ta Teh (大德) 1297, the exploit of Cheng Ling (陳稜) was played once more, but the Chinese had only captured one hundred and thirty prisoners. The author called this the second conquest of Formosa. At this time, the population in Penhu increased; the prosperous commerce had spread out the fame of Zayton. The Yuan established there an "Inspection" Hsiun Chien Sze (巡檢司), the first official Chinese bureau. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, there was still trouble, the Chinese pirates made Penhu their headquarters and from there they attacked the Chinese coast. In the 5th year of Hung Wu (洪武) 1372 for the first time this coast was evacuated against them. In the 20th year (1387), the "Inspection" of Penhu was deactivated, its population transferred away, the archipelago was left to pirates. The third "Conquest" in Yung Lo (永樂) was that of Cheng Ho (鄭和) who conquered on his way to the West the "barbarians of the East" Tung Fan (東番). The Chinese bandit, Lin Tao Chien (林道乾) in the 42nd year of Chia Ching (嘉靖) 1563, made the natives his slaves, and the latter wished to revenge. He forestalled them, and painted his junk with their blood. We are now in modern times. In the years of Wan Li (萬曆), there appeared in Formosa Japanese and Europeans. The two ends of the world got close to nibble away Formosa; and it was then that it received this new name and that of Takasago (高砂). After the attack on Korea, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豐臣秀吉) in the 21st year (1593) made Taiwan as the "First encroachment" of the North-

east. In the 32nd year (1604) the Japanese, being numerous, dug gold in Toloman (哆囉滿 *rio d'ouro*) and menaced Keelung. Settled down at the south of Ta Ku (actually Ta Kao 打鼓山), the big island served as their relay station from Satsuma (薩摩) and Hizen (肥前) to Ming Kiang (閩江) and to Che Kiang (浙江). The licences with red seal for navigation in Taiwan were issued in the 43rd year (1615) to "Nestorian" Murayama Toan (景教徒村山) by Tokugawa Ieyasu (德川康嗣). But that did not achieve his political goal. The Japanese in 1617 were in Lung Men Kiang (龍門江). Portuguese discovered Formosa. Dutchmen and Spaniards drove them out and in turn they were driven out. China has rooted here. In the first year of Tien Chi (天啓) 1621, Yen Sze Chi (顏思齊) of Hai Têng (海澄), opened Taiwan for the colonization of Fukien, and Cheng Tse Lung (鄭芝龍), father of Coxinga, succeeded him. Their biography and that of their colleagues and their imitators filled up the *Lie Chuan* (列傳). We feel that Tien Chi, the end of the Ming dynasty, was the real debut of Chinese establishment in Formosa. Based on the intensive exploitation and continuous invasion, it shows that a land belongs to one who protects it and verifies the law of the colonies which endure. The Formosan China begins in the 17th century and the "History" of Lien Heng embraces the selections of the end of the 19th century. If it is by the Ki and the *Lie Chuan* that he made his *Shih Ki* (史記), then the *Chih* (志) should be made a *Tung Chih* (通志) by their number. We only mention here the titles: 1. Administrative Geography 2. Bureau and Function 3. Personal Tax and Labor 4. Land Tax 5. Finance 6. Rites 7. Education 8. Justice 9. Army 10. Foreign Relations 11. Exploitation 12. Cities 13. Custom Duties 14. Monopoly (salt, sulfate, charcoal, petroleum, camphor, gold and opium) 15. Post and Relays 16. Victuals and Transports 17. Villages 18. Cults 19. Morals 20. Literature 21. Commerce 22. Industry 23. Agriculture 24. Natural History. These "Treatises", both historical and descriptive, gather a positive information. The author marks especially the precedents and the notable facts. He cites or summarizes without clear distinction of each other. He does not specify the references, nor reminds the variation and the localization of toponyms. He is very sober in commentaries and he supposes that readers can understand his lectures. Modern methods should be used in the compilation of classics in order to catch the whole aspect and to show the qualities and defects to make people best understand the Chinese rights. This book, though with no index, but clear and punctual, is in itself a unique entity.

E. Gaspardone

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## COLLECTED ESSAYS ON MODERN EDUCATION

*By Dr. Chang Chi-yun. 5 vols. 1957. Published by the China News and Publishing Co., Taipei, Taiwan, China.*

This is a collection of essays by a well-known educator, Dr. Chang Chi-yun, who has held the important position of Minister of Education of the Republic of China since 1954, and has turned his very considerable scholarship and unflagging energy to the vital task of formulating and organizing the educational system by which the youth of Free China shall be prepared spiritually and intellectually for participation in the immense work of reconstruction lying before the nation. Under his guidance, there has been a remarkable progress in the field of education within recent years.

These essays were originally contributed by the author to various magazines and newspapers, or delivered at different occasions over the last four years. There are 255 articles gathered together in this collection which cover a vast range of topics. They may be roughly classified into twenty-one groups: (1) essays on educational thoughts, (2) essays on Chinese culture, (3) essays on educational theories, (4) essays on higher education, (5) essays on elementary and secondary education, (6) essays on academic research, (7) essays on the youth movement, (8) essays on physical education and boy scout education (9) essays on social education, (10) essays on citizenship education, (11) essays on education in Chinese language and literature, (12) essays on moral education, (13) essays on social studies, (14) essays on political education, (15) essays on science education, (16) essays on overseas Chinese education, (17) essays on military training, (18) essays on international cultural and educational cooperation, (19) educational reports, (20) biographies of great men, (21) essays on education in current events.

As may be seen from the above list of contents, this collection deals with a very wide range of topics on different aspects of education in China, and tells us the trend of educational efforts made by the Chinese Government. It also gives us an insight into the problems of education in modern China.

As a distinguished scholar, Dr. Chang pours forth his wisdom all through these articles. In regard to the purpose of education, he points out that the ultimate aim of education is to cultivate a perfect personality manifesting truth, goodness, and beauty in their entirety, not solely to develop men of learning. He says:

"Apart from learning or the pursuit of knowledge, education includes ethics, athletics, aesthetics, and civics. These five must be coordinated, aiming at cultivating a perfect personality manifesting truth, goodness, and beauty in their entirety."

And among these five, ethics is of most importance. Dr. Chang says:

"The ultimate object of science as well as that of philosophy is the pursuit of truth, that of ethics is the pursuit of goodness, and that of aesthetics is the pursuit of beauty. In view of the importance of ethics in education, the Ministry of Education has recently published a textbook entitled 'Selected Readings in Chinese Culture for Normal School Students' (中國文化基本教材). Embodied

in this text is the essence of the *Four Books* (*The Confucian Analects* 論語, *The Book of Mencius* 孟子, *The Great Learning* 大學, and the *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸), which reflects the true spirit of the Chinese. It is essential that this spirit make its impression on the mind of the younger generation, and for this reason we consider the teaching of ethics to be of greatest importance in today's education."

There are different opinions on the problem of general education and special education. Some hold that general education is of great importance, some insist that special education must be emphasized. Dr. Chang discusses this problem with great insight. He says:

"General education and special education should go hand in hand in order to benefit and complement each other. Contemporary universities have benefited vastly from the development and progress of science, and their courses, both in number and in scope, far surpass those of olden times. Nevertheless, the principles of paying equal attention to general education as well as special education remain unchanged. Modern universities do not confine themselves to the study of modern scientific techniques or modern scientific instruments, but also study and conduct research on philosophy, the meaning of the universe and the aim of life. The theoretical sciences aim at understanding the world, the practical sciences aim at changing the world, and the social sciences aim at achieving a harmony between private benefit and public benefit in order to create a healthy society and a sound political system. The value of philosophy does not lie merely in its attempt to explain the phenomena of life, but also in creating a new way of living and a new world, the destinies of which it must also profoundly influence. Literature, however, is a means of concretely describing and proving the theories of philosophy, which is the meaning of the expression 'to spread and cultivate morality through the medium of literature.' A great building is not supported on one pillar alone but on four, and the four pillars constituting the firm supports of a university are Arts, Sciences, Applied Sciences, and Laws."

The above quotations are but a few examples of his wisdom. All of these articles are full of interest and deep insight.

Dr. Chang also takes an interest in the promotion of international cultural and educational relations. For instance, in the academic year 1956-1957 delegates were sent by the Ministry of Education to attend more than forty international conferences on academic and cultural matters, including those sponsored by UNESCO, the Twentieth International Conference on Public Education, the Conference of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, and the Centennial Celebration of the National Education Association of the USA. To encourage foreign students to study Chinese culture in Free China, scholarships have been established by the Ministry of Education. The number of these scholarships is temporarily set at 30, with a stipend of NT\$800 per month. There are 74 foreign students in Free China as of November 31, 1957, including those coming from Australia, Austria, Japan, Korea, Ryukyu Island, New Zealand, Thailand, the United States of America, Vietnam, and Italy. Again



the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China participated actively in more than ten related international exhibitions last year, in order to introduce Chinese arts and culture to the public of foreign countries. It is the earnest wish of Dr. Chang to promote mutual understanding and cooperation among nations through international cultural and educational cooperation.

In one word, this collection is an invaluable book for those who wish to understand the problems of Chinese culture and education, and will be of great help to those who are interested in learning the development and trends of education in Free China within recent years.

Reviewed by Professor Sun Pan-cheng  
Head, Department of Social Education  
Taiwan Normal University  
Taipei, Taiwan, China.

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#### A GENERAL HISTORY OF KOREA

By Professor Lee Nia-yang, Taiwan Normal University. 2 volumes, 402pp. with 52 illustrations. Published by the China Culture Publishing Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, 1956.

Boundary disputes and political factors often play essential roles in the fomenting of wars, and in recent years there has hardly arisen any problem more critical than that of South and North Korea, a problem which could very easily become the cause of another world war. As we all know, a cease-fire in the Korean conflict was reluctantly concluded after protracted truce negotiations at Penmengdien; nevertheless, as the danger of further war still exists, it behoves us not to ignore the present situation and the history of Korea. Geographically, Korea is situated at the furthest periphery of the Pacific Ocean, constituting a bridgehead and protective shield for the countries of Southeast Asia as well as the United States. Ever since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the situation in that country has attracted the attention of the entire world. However, there are very few people who possess a thorough knowledge of Korea, and, even among these, there may be some who misunderstand her, due to the fact that they have obtained their knowledge from biased Japanese versions of her history. With this in mind, I would like to say that all who wish to get an undistorted and comprehensive picture of Korea must conduct intensive research with the aid of systematic and reliable accounts of her history.

Professor N.Y. Lee's *General History of Korea* possesses three outstanding merits:

1) A correct historical viewpoint

The author has pointed out that the downfall of Korea was primarily caused by Japanese imperialist aggression, but that a further contributing factor was the

selfishness and ambition of various prominent and influential Koreans at the time, who, regardless of the impending danger to their country, sought to satisfy their greed for power and position by collaboration with the Japanese warlords. This prepared the way for the fatal blow to be dealt to Korea, which resulted in forty years under Japanese sovereignty. The author warns those who are now guiding the destinies of the country after her liberation not to ignore the lessons to be derived from the bitter experiences of the past. Korea's tragic destiny constantly fills the pages of her history; after World War II she was divided at the 38th parallel into two zones of occupation by the Yalta Agreement of 1945. Soviet Russian imperialism took advantage of the resulting situation to erect a puppet regime in North Korea, which was then goaded into an aggressive war against the South in accordance with the unrelenting Soviet conspiracy for world conquest and domination. This was due to the unsettled problem of Northeast China which, to use the author's simile, acted like a small spark kindling a great conflagration.

## 2) Rich and valuable historical data

Since the initial downfall of Korea, her native history has been interrupted by forty years of Japanese government. A great many Koreans fled to China, where they organized an exile government and trained a Korean army against the day of restoration. There are many factual accounts of the way in which Koreans sacrificed themselves in the struggle against Japanese oppression, and the story of their undying courage deserves to be recorded among the most glorious episodes of world history. This material, obtained from Korean revolutionaries, has been carefully collected together and arranged by the author in this book, which has won great praise from Korean scholars.

## 3) Sound judgement

We must understand the underlying motives of the Japanese who wrote the "history" of Korea. As their main object was to destroy the harmony existing between China and Korea in order to further their own imperialistic designs, they represented the Northeast part of China as having originally belonged to Korea so as to inspire the Koreans with a hatred for China. At the end of World War II, they endeavoured to "japanize" the Koreans, by having them adopt Japanese surnames and enlisting them in the army, where they might serve as cannon-fodder. At the same time, the Japanese government declared that its purpose in this was to raise the standard of living and improve the treatment of the Korean population. The falsehood of these statements has been mercilessly exposed by the author on the basis of carefully collected materials for critical study of the period.

It is very gratifying that the *General History of Korea*, universally acknowledged to be one of the most careful and reliable works on the subject, has been published in Free China. When the first edition of this book was published at the

beginning of the Korean War, it aroused immense interest among scholars in Korea. In 1953, the *Review of History*, Vol. III, published by the Korean History Association, contained a review of this book by Professor Han Kung-li (韓沽勵) of the University of Korea, of which the following extracts may appropriately be quoted here:

"Of the various versions of Korean history which have been published here after the Restoration, there are few which are satisfactory or of much value. A scholar from neighbouring China, however, Professor N.Y. Lee, has made a very successful study of Korean history, and has recorded his findings systematically and in detail. His work is worthy of the highest respect and closest attention."

"Professor N.Y. Lee, author of the *General History of Korea*, has written his book in a spirit of objective research and goodwill toward his neighbouring country on the basis of Chinese historical records and Japanese data, from which latter he has eliminated or corrected the majority of fabrications and legends. The viewpoint and attitude of the author are objective and just. Of especial value are the chapters on the Period of Japanese Occupation and the Restoration Movement. We extend our gratitude and admiration to this work of profound research."

The appreciation of the *General History of Korea* by Korean scholars may be assessed from the foregoing comments. In the second edition, the author has added a chapter on the Korean War, and many valuable illustrations and appendixes for the convenience of foreign readers.

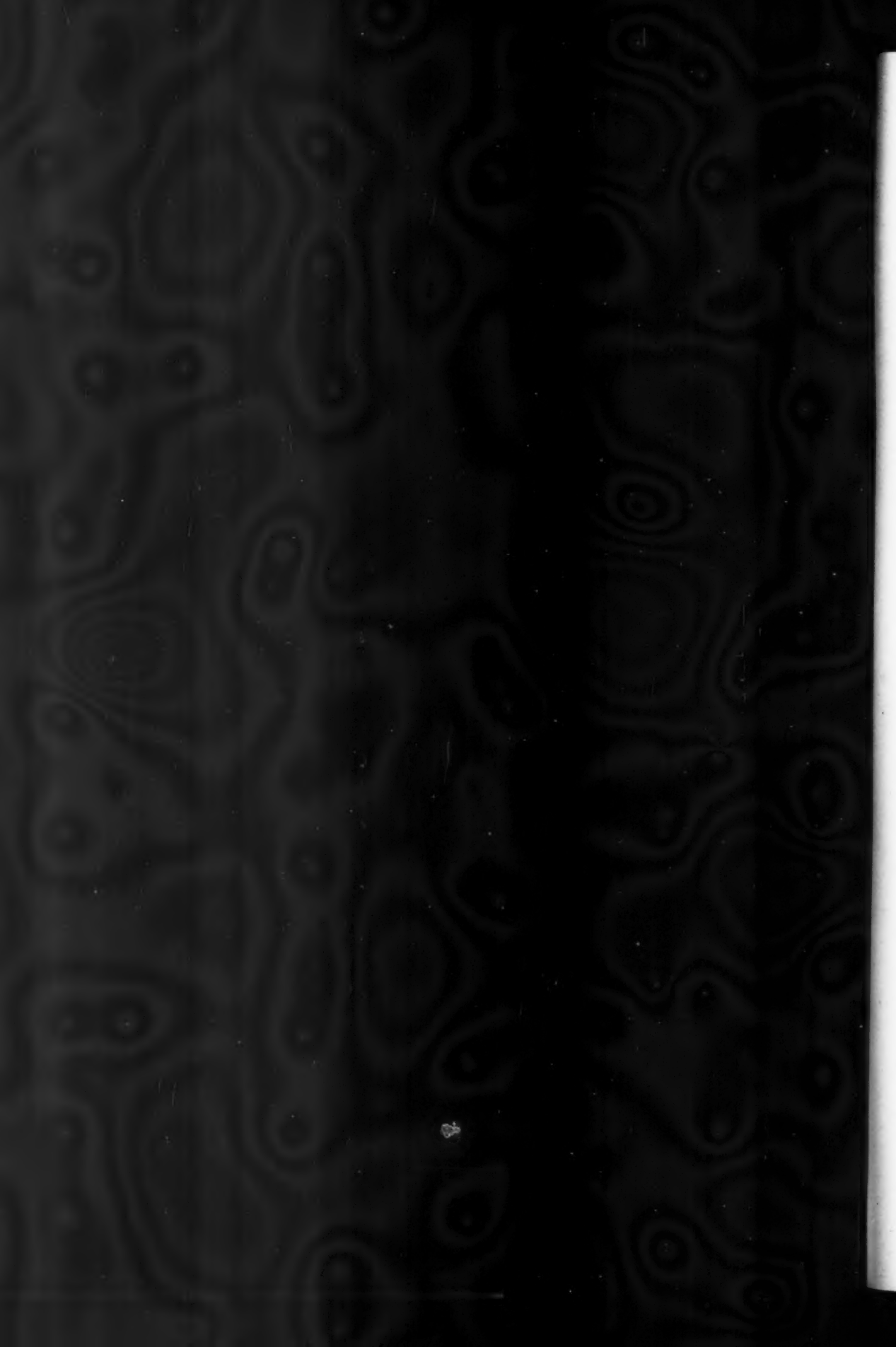
Two years ago, Professor Lee Kung-ling (李光麟) of Seoul University visited Harvard University in the U.S.A. for the purpose of contemporary study. During this time he reviewed many foreign versions of Korean history and conceded that the *General History of Korea* by Professor N.Y. Lee was not only rich in content and correct in its views, but also far more reliable and objective than any Japanese work on the same subject. This recommendation has gained the attention of American scholars, and it has been suggested that an English translation of this book be prepared. I am happy to say that this work is under consideration and will be commenced by the author in the near future.

This book is vividly and sensibly written with brilliant descriptions of the tendencies to prosperity or decline in each successive era in the history of Korea. To sum up, I am of the opinion that this book constitutes not only an outstanding monument to the interflow of Chinese and Korean cultures, but also an essential work for all those who seek to obtain a fair and balanced understanding of Korea.

Peter W. I. Fang  
Finance School, CSF

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## Appendixes:

### CHINESE CLASSICAL TRADITION

*Lecture Material Supplied by Professor Li Tsong-tong, Professor of  
History, National Taiwan University*

*Lecture Prepared and Delivered by Dr. Earl Swisher, The Asia  
Foundation, Taipei*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In appearing before you to present the opening lecture of this series entitled the "Chinese Classical Tradition," I wish to make it clear at the outset that I am representing the views and interpreting the materials of Professor Li Tsong-tong of National Taiwan University. I have been in close consultation with Professor Li and we have gone over the materials together carefully to make sure that I understand his point of view and am prepared to present his materials. I have also tried to preserve the general organization of material and the emphasis which Professor Li has placed upon the various aspects of Chinese tradition. In other words, I have attempted to preserve both the content and spirit of Professor Li and hope that I shall be able to transmit them faithfully to you.

In this connection, I should like to say that the experience of working with Professor Li Tsong-tong and Dr. Cha Liang-chao, Director of the China Institute in America, Taiwan Committee, has in itself been a rewarding experience. The outstanding characteristic of the Chinese classical tradition is that it is a living tradition and is represented by living scholars in China today. The greatest opportunity that all of us have here in Free China is to meet and talk to these living representatives of scholarship and culture. It is my hope that these lectures will pave the way for developing associations between Americans and the scholars as represented by Academia Sinica at Nankang, by the directors of the National Art Treasures at Taichung, and by the Chinese professors at National Taiwan University, Taiwan Provincial Normal University, and National Political University. Gathered here in these cultural and educational institutions are the best scholars of China today and the living representatives of the Chinese classical tradition.

In going over his prepared notes, Professor Li Tsong-tong emphasized first of all the long history of China, comparable in many respects to the ancient histories of Babylon, Egypt, and Greece. The history of China like that of these other countries is pre-

served from the earliest times in written records, in archaeological remains preserved in museums, and in archaeological excavations, as well as in surviving art in stone and bronze objects which the Chinese have treasured in private and family collections from the early times down to the present. The greatest collection of this latter category is preserved on Taiwan and is exhibited in the new Palace Museum Exhibition Hall outside Taichung and in the nearby large modern warehouses which house the great bulk of this enormous and unique collection.

These are the universal characteristics of ancient civilizations, and Chinese ancient history has all of these features in common with the other great civilizations of the ancient world. The special character of Chinese history, however, is its continuity. In China the past has survived and penetrated without interruption from the earliest period to the present day. This continuing culture has undergone changes and developments but has retained throughout its peculiar Chinese character from the prehistoric stone age to the modern civilization of China today. Also, the Chinese race has remained a separate entity; although like all other great races of the world, the Chinese people is complex and subject to constant change and mutation. The Chinese race like all other great races of the world has been enriched by migration and assimilation. As with the Chinese race, so with the Chinese culture, the process of enrichment and cultural penetration has been similar in China to the other cultures of the world but again Chinese culture is unique in that throughout the changes wrought by migration and cultural commerce, the peculiar and unique Chinese character of its history, culture, and race, has been preserved.

Turning from generalizations to particular cases, Professor Li first chose to illustrate his point by the example of the development and continuity of the Chinese language from the earliest period, at least 2000 B.C. in its written form, down to the present. It is characteristic of the Chinese classical tradition that the earliest extant examples of written Chinese are characters which, though primitive and strange to modern Chinese observers, are still recognizable and distinctly Chinese and can be identified, character by character, with modern Chinese forms. It is also characteristic of the living nature of the Chinese tradition that we have at Taiwan National University, in the person of the famous professor of history Tung Tso-pin, the greatest living authority on ancient Chinese writing, who himself can write the script in its earliest and most primitive form in a decorative calligraphic style. Professor Tung is at present teaching in Hongkong but is a frequent visitor to Taiwan and attends meetings of Academia Sinica regularly. It is still possible to obtain a scroll written in the earliest form of Chinese writing to decorate your living-room in Taiwan.

The earliest form of Chinese writing is preserved on Oracle Bones and is called *Chia Ku Wen*. Other examples are written on tortoise shell and some on other materials. The oracle bones are instruments of divination used in the earliest historical period of China but are unique among divination materials of the world in that they are permanent in character and contain written transcriptions which have come down to

the present time intact in large numbers. The divination practice which produced the oracle bone is a simple one. The oracle or soothsayer prepared bones of deer or other small animals by scraping them clean and providing a smooth flat surface. Then when a questioner appeared before the oracle to ask for an answer to his problem or a prophecy of the future, the oracle took a heated spike from the fire and held it against the back of the prepared bone. The heated rod burned a hole in the back of the bone and caused cracks to appear on the opposite face of the bone. As these cracks appear in jagged lines and branches on the surface, the oracle removed the branding iron and proceeded to interpret the cracks in terms of an answer to the suppliant's question, much as a fortune-teller reads the lines on the palm of your hand to tell your fortune. This was the method of divination in ancient China from a very early period. With the growth in popularity of this familiar divination, it moved on to the next stage of inscribing the question asked of the oracle on the face of the bone alongside the surface cracks. The soothsayer then began to add his answer to the question, interpreting the cracks in the form of a prophecy. In some cases a third stage of inscription was added, indicating whether the prophecy rendered by the oracle proved to be true in fact or not. These inscribed oracle bones have been collected in millions of fragments and thousands of complete inscribed bones. The material on them provides not only examples of early writing but a vast storehouse of written documents on the life of those times. For instance, from a compilation of all the questions placed before the oracle, it is possible to determine the interest of these people—how many questions concerned hunting? How many concerned battle? How many concerned agriculture? The inscriptions also make it possible to compile lists of domestic animals, animals of the hunt, agricultural products, types of homes and building materials, descriptions of costumes, and practices of warfare and culture. Here is the first body of written records of ancient China, and study of them constitutes one branch of modern scientific historical research.

The next group of materials on Chinese writing, following the *Chia Ku Wen*, is the Bamboo Records, representing a new medium of writing which followed the inscribed oracle bones. The Bamboo Records, dating from approximately 1500 to 500 B.C. are written with stylus and brush with a kind of sticky lacquer on bamboo slats. Unfortunately bamboo is not as permanent a medium as bone or tortoise shell, so fewer examples of the Bamboo Records have survived to the present day. Some can be seen at the National Central Library in Taipei but they are very fragile and fragmentary.

The Bamboo Records were followed by the introduction of the "modern" technique of writing, in the 3rd Century B.C. when the familiar system of writing with a soft brush and carbon ink on paper was developed. Each form of writing developed its particular style, determined by the instruments and medium of writing, but all of them are characteristically Chinese and to some extent each is preserved to modern times since the introduction of brush writing on paper. The tradition of Chinese writing has not been seriously modified to the present time. Styles have changed and the form of writing modified in detail but essentially Chinese writing has remained intact. From the 3rd Century to the present time, the continuity of Chinese writing is clear from the

*Chia Ku Wen* through the Bamboo Records, to present day books and newspapers that we see in shops and on the streets. Chinese writing, therefore, constitutes an element of the Chinese classical tradition—a continuous record of Chinese life and history from its earliest emergence, from the Neolithic or Stone age down to the present stage of modern Chinese culture.

The second aspect of the Chinese classical tradition used by Professor Li to illustrate his story, is drawn from the Spring and Autumn period, 722 to 481 B.C., known in Chinese as the Ch'un Ch'iu Period. This is selected not at random as a short period of Chinese history, but by design because it is regarded as the formative period of Chinese thought and philosophy. The Ch'un Ch'iu period constitutes the classical feudal period of China. The group of feudal states was located in the horseshoe bend of the Yellow River, along the western reaches of the Wei River, and gradually moved eastward down the Yellow River toward Shantung. This period China was small in total area and limited to the central part of the watershed of the Yellow River. Even this small part of what is now Chinese territory was subdivided into hundreds of feudal states, many of which were not larger than big farms and the largest of which would constitute one or more counties and *hsien* in modern Chinese geography. This feudal period of Chinese history was extremely productive—in the rivalry of the small states, the competition of local courts, the wars fought between the feudal armies—and the efforts to extend territories of one group of states and the counter efforts to unify the entire complex of feudal states produced a rich and colorful period of Chinese history. At the beginning of the Ch'un Ch'iu, there were as many as 800 separate feudal states. These were gradually reduced by wars and elimination to 200 during the middle period of Ch'un-Ch'iu. The process continued until at the end of the period, called the Warring States period, the number of states was reduced to 7, each fighting bitterly for the hegemony over the other and for the unification of China under a single rule. This was finally accomplished in 255 B.C., at the end of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period, with the establishment of the first Chinese empire, the Ch'in Dynasty.

The importance of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period lies not, however, in its feudalism nor its wars but in the development during this period of the so-called "Hundred Schools of Thought." This was a period of intellectual ferment as well as of military activity. Each major feudal state developed its champion of political science, philosophy, and military strategy. The brilliance of its court was enhanced by the writings and teachings of these specialists and the identification of scholarship and bureaucracy began at this time. Professor Li pointed out, "incidentally, in discussing this period of ferment and intellectual activity, that this is the period of Herodotus and corresponds closely to the great period of Greek writing and philosophy. Dozens of the philosophical writings of this period have survived in Chinese literature and history but all are eclipsed by the methodical representation and continuing implementation of Confucius, whose dates are 551 to 478 B.C. Confucius stands out among the dozens and hundreds of scholars of this period as the complete and accepted embodiment of the Chinese classical tradition. He was a philosopher who lay down the ground work of Chinese ethics; he was a political

scientist who determined the forms of Chinese government and the conduct of Chinese bureaucracy; but more than anything else, he was an historian who preserved and transmitted the written records of Ch'un-Ch'iu to posterity. Confucian writings have, of course, become the classics of China but they are not only the guides of ethics and philosophy but they are also an important body of historical evidence—a part of the pattern of the continuity of Chinese history. The *Chu'n Ch'iu*, or *Spring and Autumn Annals*, is a careful record year by year of all the important events from 722 to 481 B.C., compiled and edited by Confucius. In itself, the *Ch'un Ch'iu* is a very sparse record, but fortunately, in addition, there is an elaborate commentary or narrative to supplement *Ch'un Ch'iu* called the *Tso Chuan*, which provides a colorful and complex background for the Warring States of this feudal age. The Confucian record of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* combined with the dozens of other surviving records of this period constituted the largest early body of the Chinese classical tradition and is regarded as the core of this tradition by Chinese scholars to the present day.

The third example used to illustrate the Chinese classical tradition is drawn from the Han Dynasty, covering the period 208 B.C. to A.D. 220. The Han Dynasty represents the second dynastic period of China following the shortlived Ch'in Dynasty which immediately preceded it. In the Han Dynasty, the fragmentation and feudalism of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period is replaced by a single and unified empire under the strong rule of a single Chinese family, following in almost unbroken succession for a period of four hundred years. This period of unity and stability provided the framework for the final achievement of the Chinese classical tradition, the formalization of Chinese historical writing. Prior to this time Chinese history had been represented by records and documents but had never been formulated into a consecutive and organized body of writing which we know as history. Responsible for this great stride in Chinese historiography is a famous scholarly family called Ssu-ma. The founder of this tradition was Ssu-ma T'an who was the official archivist of Han Dynasty in the first century B.C., who conceived the idea of bringing all the records of China down to his own time together in an orderly account of Chinese history. He dedicated his life to this great work and died before it was completed. Just how far Ssu-ma T'an went in the process of compilation and writing will never be known, but the work did not stop with his death. His son Ssu-ma Ch'ien completed the work about 100 B.C. This was published under the title of *Shih Chi* or *Historical Record*. There is a partial translation of this work in French under the title of *Mémoires Historiques de La Chine*. The *Shih Chi* or *Historical Record* as begun by Ssu-ma T'an and completed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien constitutes the first standard history of China and the beginning of a series of landmarks which make Chinese history the best charted route in all the areas of the world, and the first item of what is now known as *Twenty-five Standard Histories of China*. Up until very recently a large outdoor advertising billboard near the entrance to MAAG Compound advertised the latest edition of this standard history, one of the two editions printed recently on Taiwan. These 25 *Histories* can be purchased in modern style bindings in either of these two editions in Taipei at a very nominal cost. They comprise the complete standard history of China from the earliest beginnings to



1644 A. D. Actually, there are only 24 periods of history of China covering this period. The 25th history is an additional edition to the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty history which is added to rather than substituted for the traditional history of this period (1280-1368).

The *Shih Chi* or *Historical Record* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien is, therefore, a great landmark in Chinese historiography as completed in 100 B.C. It constitutes 130 books or chapters; in the modern edition it comprises two sizable western style volumes. Ssu-ma Ch'ien divided the *Record* into five major parts: (1) Chronological Tables comprising the bare chronological record of the major feudal states and of the central Chou Dynasty in statistical form; (2) the Basic History of the Chou Dynasty, which provides the basic narrative of the central or leading house of the feudal system of this period; (3) History of the Major Feudal Houses, in which separate feudal states are described and their records preserved; (4) Institutional Monographs, which are separate studies of the eight principal governmental institutions of this period; and (5) Biographies—a section of separate biographies of all the leading persons of the entire period, statesmen, generals, scholars, and artists. He wrote the life stories of all the outstanding persons of every category. This section is by far the largest in volume of the five parts and provides a vast storehouse of historical data on the early period of Chinese history. From a literary point of view, these biographies make the best reading in early Chinese literature—full of personality, color, and detail.

With the completion of the *Shih Chi*, Chinese historiography was established and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work became the model for succeeding dynasties of China down through the Ming (ended 1644). With the fall of Han Dynasty in 220 A.D., the first straight dynastic history came into being. An official historian was commissioned to write the history of the Han while the records and documents were still available. This resulted in the Han Dynastic History in two parts—the Early Han (*Ch'ien Han Shih*) and Later Han (*Hou Han Shih*). Thereafter, each dynasty followed this precedent of having the records of its predecessor written up in a formal history. This continued through the end of Ming Dynasty, 1644, when the succeeding Manchu had the history of the Ming period prepared in the traditional manner. The only break in this tradition is at the end of Manchu (Ch'ing) Dynasty, 1912, with the establishment of the Republic of China. Here again the tradition was followed by establishing an Historiographical Board to write the history of the preceding dynasty. This was completed in 1931 and the results published as the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* which appeared in two editions, one published in Peiping and one in Mukden. The Republic of China, however, refused to accept the completed Ch'ing dynastic history as official and it has remained a "Draft" or "Kao" version of the Manchu period. The *Ch'ing Shih Kao* stands then as a "draft history" of the Manchu period but is not incorporated into the standard history of China, where it would constitute the 26th standard history of China. The draft history is available in many libraries in the United States and I have a personal copy of it in my collection at home. It follows the general pattern of the other 25 histories and closely resembles in organization and style the first *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

The great institution of historiography represented by the 25 or 26 histories of

China covering the period from 200 B.C. to 1912 A.D. is one of the outstanding features of the Chinese classical tradition. The histories themselves represent this tradition in that they are written in the Confucian and classical style as well as in the Confucian tradition of ideology and philosophy. There is no example in any country or culture of the world comparable to the standard historical coverage of China. It should be pointed out that this standard history does not in any way monopolize the historical writing of China. Outside of these official dynastic histories, there are hundreds and thousands of histories of special fields, special periods and special localities. There are histories of literature, of art, of institutions, monographs on every conceivable subject, and special histories of China, histories of provinces and histories of war, uprisings, insurrections, and so forth. These separate and special histories follow the pattern of haphazard historical writings in other countries and in these respects, China is the same. It is in regard to the great monolithic official histories of China that China is unique.

These examples of Chinese classical tradition were selected by Professor Li to characterize the classical heritage of China. He then turned to another approach in which he tries to bring out the nature and characteristics of this heritage. For this again he used the method of selection and emphasis, picking out a few elements from the great mass of Chinese philosophy and literature to represent and suggest the whole.

One characteristic of the Chinese heritage is Humanism, a special form of humanism as represented in the Confucian *Analects* or *Lun Yü*. The *Lun Yü* is a collection of dialogues between Confucius and his disciples, comparable in some ways to the dialogues of Plato. In one of these dialogues Fan Ch'ih, a disciple of Confucius, asked the Master the meaning of *Jen* (仁). Confucius answered, "*Jen* means love, to love others." It represents the extension of oneself to another person. The character *Jen* (Man. plus the numeral 2) suggests altruism—one man thinking of another—and unselfishness. This Confucian representation of impersonal and unselfish love was elaborated later by Mencius in the famous dictum: "Care for your own aged and extend this to concern for the aged of others; care for your own children and extend this to concern for the children of others." This represents a continuous line of humanistic and literal thought from the time of Confucius down to the present time. This is a basic characteristic of Chinese thought and of Chinese personality. Generation after generation, children have grown up in this Confucian tradition and the influence is still strong to the present time. Professor Li cited the common phrase "*Jen-che ai Jen* (仁者愛人)," which he translates as "the mark of a human being is his love for others" or in another form "Humanism is love of others." The "others" definitely means in Chinese "people outside your own family," so this is a broad human feeling, not merely a family or personal feeling. Professor Cha Liang-chao who went over these notes with Professor Li and me had his own phrasing of this principle: "A loving person loves others," which he regards as a basic principle of human relations.

The second element selected for emphasis is *laissez faire* or "live and let live" which Professor Li picked out from the Ch'un Ch'iu literature of international relations.

It is his theory that in the feudal period of war and diplomacy there developed a system of "international mutual help" based on mutual respect of one state for another and of groups of states for each other, a system of communications and relationship which ultimately broke down into wars and chaos but which, during the period of its utilization and practice, constituted an ideal or idealized feudal relationship based on chivalry and *noblesse oblige* which at least in retrospect is preferable in some respects to the rigidity of unity and conformity which characterized the empire which followed. This somewhat nostalgic regard for the Feudal Age of separateness and originality is comparable in Chinese history to the fondness of Americans for "States Rights," long after federal government and centralization have become an established fact.

The idealized relations of the feudal states are distinguished as four kinds:

1. *Ch'ao* (朝) or "court" relations, which constitutes visits of the representatives of small states to the courts of large states and which developed a kind of *noblesse oblige* of courtly consideration for the small states, combined with recognition of both their dignity and their integrity.

2. *Pin* (稟) or "Communications," constitutes the diplomatic relations and correspondence between states in the feudal system without regard to their size or strength. In this relationship, all states were regarded as equal and the small state could communicate with the largest and most powerful state. This constituted a method of getting along with one another in spite of great disparity of sizes and influence.

3. *Hui* (會) "Conferences" or "meetings," emphasizing the importance of bringing together groups of states to work out their problems, to provide a forum or a platform as a basis for negotiation or settlement of disputes among groups of states. The records of discussion among all of these meetings are preserved in the *Ch'un Ch'iu Annals* and provide an interesting basis for League of Nations and United Nations conferences in modern times.

4. *Meng* (盟) "Leagues" or "Alliances" among feudal states for defensive or military purposes.

5. *Mi Ping* (弭兵) "Disarmament" represents a practice developed at least in theory among feudal states for the limitation and regulation of armament to reduce the likelihood of war. This was honored more in the breach than in the acceptance of it and the feudal period was filled with strife and conflict. Nevertheless, this precedent of armistice, disarmament conferences, and efforts to control and limit military conflicts constitutes another part of the tradition and provides a precedent for modern international relations.

These feudal institutions preserved in the records of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* period, as idealized by subsequent writers, constitute a Chinese thought pattern of international relations and diplomatic procedures which prepares the modern Chinese for participation

in world affairs and membership in the United Nations and constitute another aspect of the Chinese heritage which strongly influences modern Chinese statesmen and scholars.

The third element of China's heritage selected for emphasis is diversity. Contrary to many western concepts of China, the classical tradition provides an outstanding example of diverse schools of thought and rivalry among many theories. This is the classical precedent which Mao Tse-tung has prostituted in his thesis: "Let 100 flowers blossom; let many schools of thought contend." This is drawn from the 100 Schools of philosophy of the period of Warring States which followed the Ch'un Ch'iu period in the 3rd Century B.C. In this period of breakdown of feudalism and universal chaos, there were actually many schools of thought, each contending for acceptance and recognition, and this precedent of diversity of thought and free competition for intellectual recognition, is one of the great traditions of China during the period of the Warring States. There were hundreds of philosophical schools, only a few of which need to be mentioned to remind one of this tradition of diversity. For instance, outside the well-known school of Confucius of the earlier period, there was the influential school of Mo-Ti with his philosophy of "universal love"; there was the school of Mencius with his strong emphasis on the democratic elements of the Confucian tradition; there was the influential school of Lao-tzu which established the Taoism or "Naturalistic Philosophy" of China in defiance of the Confucian tradition; and the school of Han Fei Tzu or "Legalism," which advocated a theory of statute and impartial law and constitutes the closest Chinese parallel to Roman Law and the Western ideal of the "Rule of Law" as opposed to the "Rule of Men." All of these various schools and dozens of others of the period of Warring States have continued to maintain their separate influence on Chinese thought and have modified the Confucian tradition, which, though predominant, has never been exclusive or monopolistic of Chinese thought. Therefore, the element of diversity and genuine competition and exchange in the intellectual and cultural field constitutes another contribution to the Chinese classical tradition.

In conclusion, Professor Li asked me to list five essential principles of Chinese thought which are fundamental to an understanding of the Chinese classical tradition: (1) Respect for Seniority and Age; (2) Filial Piety—respect for parents, acceptance of the guidance of parents, and recognition of the authority of parents—in commenting on this principle, a Chinese friend of mine said that in a recent visit to the United States, he was impressed by the fact that Americans indulge and spoil their children but neglect the old people in their society—; (3) Respect for Other Nations—toleration—and a tradition for resisting invasion but refraining from aggression; (4) Acceptance of Other Cultures and Ideologies, drawn from the 100 Schools' tradition and exemplified by the acceptance of Buddhism from India and later of Christianity from the West; and (5) *I Te Pao Te* (以德報德)—*I Chih Pao Yuan* (以直報怨)—"Return good with good—confront evil with righteousness."

Finally, I would like to make one personal comment before closing. You people here in China at the present time should take full advantage of your unique oppor-

tunity—the best way to understand the Chinese classical tradition is to cultivate the friendship and seek the understanding of the living exponents of that tradition and I would like to recommend to you the cultivation of the following persons:

- 1) Professor Li Tsong-tong who has supplied the materials for this lecture;
- 2) Mr. K'ung Teh-ch'eng, 77th lineal descendent of Confucius who lives in Taichung, teaches in Taiwan National University and is the director of the Palace-Museum in Taichung;
- 3) Professor Tung Tso-pin, the *Chia Ku Wen* expert, now teaching in Hongkong but a frequent visitor in Taiwan.
- 4) Professor Li Chi of National Taiwan University and President of Academia Sinica and leading Archaeologist and Anthropologist in China;
- 5) Professor Liang Shih-ch'iu, Shakesperian Dean of Provincial Normal University and a subsequent lecturer on this series, and finally;
- 6) Mr. Yu Yu-jen, head of the Control Yuan and leading calligraphist of China.

These are only my own personal favorites to represent the living Chinese classical tradition. You can make your own list and cultivate your own "source materials" to pursue your study of Chinese classical tradition through personal contacts with living exponents of this tradition.



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## Part 1 General Collections

### 1. General Cyclopedias

- 四部刊要十三經標準讀本 四十五年臺北市世界書局影印披縣張氏誦忍堂模唐石經本  
斷句十三經經文 四十四年臺北市開明書店印本  
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五經讀本 四十二年臺北市啓明書局影印粹芬閣藏本 編者按此書題沈知方輯但經考證疑係據清萬青銓輯五經三傳讀本影印未知確否  
四部刊要樸學叢書第一集 楊家駱編 四十五年臺北市世界書局印本  
仁壽本二十五史 四十五年臺北市二十五史編輯館影印本  
影印殿本二十五史 四十三年臺北市藝文印書館影印本 編者按非盡殿本 未印全  
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國學基本叢書史學叢編 王雲五編 四十五年臺北市商務印書館印本  
臺灣紀錄兩種 四十年臺灣省文獻委員會編印臺灣叢書本  
鄭成功史料合刊 黃典權編 四十六年臺南市海東書房印本  
四部刊要諸子集成第一集 楊家駱編 四十五年台北市世界書局印本  
國學基本叢書考據叢編 王雲五編 四十五年臺北市商務印書館印本  
中國兵學大系 李浴日編 四十六年臺南市世界兵學社印本  
武經七書 四十五年臺北市武學書局印本 又四十六年世界兵學社中國兵學大系影印宋刊本  
增訂武經註解 四十三年臺中市兵學書店印本  
汪氏兵學三書 四十六年世界兵學社中國兵學大系影印清光緒間浙西村金集刻本  
名人筆記叢書 四十五年臺北市新興書局編印本  
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國學研讀法三種 四十五年臺北市中華書局編印本

### 2. General Series

- 國學標準典籍第一輯 四十六年臺北市藝文印書館印本 未出全  
藝文叢書 四十六年臺北市藝文印書館編印本 未出全  
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國學基本叢書 四十五年臺北市新興書局編印本

孝經忠經白話註解合刊 四十四年臺中市瑞成書局編印本

曾文正公選集 四十二年臺北市啓明書局編印本

王國維先生三種 四十一年臺北市國民出版社編印本

### 3. Miscellaneous

中華叢書 四十四年臺北市中華叢書委員會編印本

臺灣叢書 三十九年臺灣省文獻委員會編印本

正中文庫第一輯 四十二年臺北市正中書局編印本

正中文庫第二輯 四十三年臺北市正中書局編印本

現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯 四十一年臺北市中華文化出版事業委員會編印本

現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯 四十三年臺北市中華文化出版事業委員會編印本

現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯 四十四年臺北市中華文化出版事業委員會編印本

現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯 四十五年臺北市中華文化出版事業委員會編印本

中國文化叢書 四十二年臺北市中央文物供應社編印本

傳記叢書 四十二年臺北市中央文物供應社編印本

## Part II Classical Works

### 1 The Book of Changes

周易 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

周易注疏十卷 魏王弼晉韓康伯注 唐孔穎達等疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

周易本義四卷 宋朱熹撰 啓明書局五經讀本 又四十六年臺北市新陸書局印本 四十五年臺北市文化圖書公司印本 編者按新陸文化兩本或名集注或名讀本實皆本義也

易經來注圖解十六卷 明來知德撰 四十六年臺北市來注 易經 鐫印 處影印清康熙敦仁堂本

周易新解 邵詩譚撰 四十一年臺南市成功書局印本

周易闡微 徐世大撰 四十一年臺中市昌文書局印本

周易大綱 吳康撰 四十二年臺北市商務印書館印本

周易新解 曹昇撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本

周易新研究 江公上撰 四十五年撰者印本

### 2. The Book of History

尚書 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

尚書注疏二十卷 舊題漢孔安國傳 唐孔穎達疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

書經集傳六卷 宋蔡沈撰 啓明書局五經讀本 又四十五年臺北市新陸書局印本題銅版書經集注

尚書釋義 屈萬里撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯

尚書大綱 吳康撰 四十二年臺北商務印書館印本

### 3. The Odes

毛詩 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

毛詩注疏七十卷 漢毛亨傳 漢鄭玄箋 唐孔穎疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

詩集傳八卷 宋朱熹撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍影印宋刊本 又啓明書局五經讀本 又四十四年臺北市文化圖書公司印本題銅版詩經集注

詩毛氏傳疏三十卷毛詩音四卷毛詩說一卷毛詩傳義類一卷鄭氏箋考證一卷 清陳奐撰 世書局十四經新疏本

毛詩傳箋通釋三十二卷 清馬瑞辰撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍本

詩三家義集疏二十八卷卷首一卷 清王先謙撰 世界書局十四經新疏本

毛詩詞例舉要 劉師培撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍本

詩經新證 于省吾撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍本

詩經釋義 屈萬里撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本

詩經選注 屈萬里選注 四十四年臺北市正中書局印本

毛詩韻串 丁惟汾輯 四十二年臺北市中央文物供應社印本

詩學論 羅仲漢撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本

### 4. The Book of Rites

周禮 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

周禮注疏四十卷 漢鄭玄注 唐賈公彥疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

周官新義十六卷考工記解二卷 宋王安石撰 考工記解宋鄭宗顏輯 商務印書館政法叢編本

儀禮 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

儀禮注疏五十卷 漢鄭玄注 唐賈公彥疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

禮記 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

禮記注疏六十三卷 漢鄭玄注 唐孔穎達疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

禮記集說十卷 元陳澧撰 啓明書局五經讀本

曾子注釋四卷 清阮元撰 新興書局國學基本叢書影印學海堂經解本

禮運大同編精義 何鍵撰 四十四年臺北市自由出版社印本

### 5. The Spring and Autumn Annals

春秋三傳十六卷 清闕名編 啓明書局五經讀本

春秋左傳 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

春秋左傳注疏六十卷 晉杜預集解 唐孔穎達疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

重訂春秋左傳句解三十五卷 宋朱申注釋 清韓荃重訂 四十五年臺北市新亞書局印本 又四十三年臺北市台北書局印本

左傳韻華二卷 清林紆選評 四十六年臺北市文光圖書公司影印本

廣注語釋左傳精華 秦培同注釋 宋晶如增訂 四十三年臺北市世界書局印本

春秋公羊傳 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

春秋公羊傳注疏二十八卷 漢何休解詁 唐徐彥疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

春秋穀梁傳 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

春秋穀梁傳注疏二十卷 晉范甯集解 唐楊士勗疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

#### 6. The Filial Piety Classic

孝經 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

孝經注疏九卷 唐玄宗御注 宋邢昺疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

孝經圖卷附正文 元趙孟頫繪書 中華叢書委員會中華叢書影印國立中央博物院藏墨本

孝經白話注解 王有宗演注 瑞成書局孝經忠經白話注解合刊本

孝經白話解說 朱領中解說 附新孝經四十二章題報親恩輯 四十四年臺南市臺灣法輪書局印本

孝經白話注釋 嚴協和編述 四十六年臺北市臺灣書店印本

#### 7. The Four Books (The Great Learning Confucian Analects, Doctrine of the Mean, and Mencius)

四書集注二十六卷 宋朱熹撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍影印清吳志忠校刊本 又四十四年臺北市世界書局印四部刊要本 又臺中市瑞成書局銅版本

四書白話句解 王紓運述解 附聖賢像傳 四十二年臺北市拔提書局印本 又四十四年臺北市文化圖書公司印袖珍本，又四十五年臺北市萬國圖書公司印本無聖賢像傳

語譯廣解四書讀本 沈知方主稿 蔣伯潛注釋 四十一年臺北市啓明書局印本

四書白話新解 張守白譯註 四十二年臺北市文光圖書公司印本

國書四書白話 史維明注音 陳立新語譯 四十六年臺北市萬國圖書公司印本 編者按此類白話四書或分印或合印各書局出版者至多內容皆不甚相遠茲不備錄略舉數種以概其餘

四書近指 明孫奇逢撰 中央文物供應社中國文化叢書本 編者按此書係夏峯先生八十九歲所批著者與七十歲批定本不同遠西錢公來藏木刻四書本此係摘印其批語也

四書釋義 錢穆撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本

四書精華 吳石仙注譯 四十五年臺北市東方書店印本

論語 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

論語注疏二十卷 魏何晏集解 宋邢昺疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

論語正義二十四卷 清劉寶楠撰 子恭冕 補附鄭玄論語序逸文 世界書局十四經新疏本

論語話解 清陳澧述 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本

論語會箋 徐英撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本

論語類輯 許同萊編 四十三年臺北市正中書局影印自強老人手寫袖珍本

論語類編 李一之編注 四十三年臺北市華國出版社印本

大學中庸今釋 陳榮編釋 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本



中庸開微 蔡運辰撰 四十五年臺北市建康書局印本

孟子 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本 編者按十三經標準讀本乃縮影唐石經唐石經本無孟子清初陝西巡撫賈漢復補刻

孟子注疏十四卷 漢趙岐注 舊題宋孫奭疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

孟子正義十四卷 清焦循撰 世界書局十四經新疏本

孟子會箋 溫晉城撰 正中書局正文庫第二輯本

增補蘇批孟子 宋蘇洵批 清趙大浣增補 附孟子年譜 闕名編 孟子分章考 清于鬯撰 四十四年臺北市遠東圖書公司印本

最新孟子讀本七卷 宋蘇洵批 註釋說解不著撰人 新興書局國學基本叢書本

孟子分類纂注 王偉俠編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本

孟子分類總注 孫云逵編 四十四年臺北市正中書局印本

## 8. Etymologies

爾雅 世界書局十三經標準讀本 又開明書店斷句十三經經文本

爾雅注疏十卷 晉郭璞注 宋邢昺疏 附清阮元校勘記 藝文印書館十三經注疏本

方言譯十三卷 漢揚雄撰 晉郭璞注 丁惟汾譯 四十六年臺北市中央文物供應社印本

經籍纂詁一百零六卷附補遺 清阮元纂 世界書局模學叢書第一集本

說文解字十五卷 漢許慎撰 宋徐鉉校 四十五年臺北市文化圖書公司縮影清光緒七年日照丁氏仿宋刊本

說文解字注三十卷六書音均表五卷 清段玉裁撰 四十四年臺北市藝文印書館影印傅斯年藏經韻樓原刻本

說文段注指例 呂景先編 四十二年臺北市正中書局印本

說文通訓定聲十八卷檢韻一卷說雅十九篇古今韻標一卷 清朱駿聲撰 世界書局模學叢書第一集本

文字蒙求四卷 清王筠撰 四十五年臺北市藝文印書館影印清道光十八年鄉南齋署刊本

康熙字典十二集首一卷末一卷 清張玉書等奉勅纂 四十五年花蓮市花蓮書店影印上海同文書局石印增蒙本 附錄九種花蓮書店編 又四十四年臺北市文光圖書公司影印本 又四十五年臺北市友文書店影印本 編者按上兩本書眉篆文多移倒似據翻印同文本影印均無附錄訂正康熙字典十五卷卷首一卷尾一卷 清張玉書等奉勅纂 日本渡部溫訂正 四十五年臺北市藝文印書館影印日本明治十八年刊本

部首檢字增訂六書通 清閔齊伋原編 楊宗道重編 四十六年楊氏印本

綜合新字典 董文編 四十一年臺北市大東書局印本

國音字典 王星華編 四十四年臺北市正中書局印本

新新字典 丁德先編 四十五年台中市北辰出版社印本 編者接近出字典多供學生查閱內容簡略不具錄

鑰匙字研究 趙友培撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯本

文字學要要 蔣伯潛編 正中書局正文庫第一輯本

檢字一貫三 題三家村學究編 四十四年臺北市藝文印書館影印本 編者按檢目之書或入

史部目錄類今爲便於省覽計分別附於所檢之書後

廣韻五卷 宋陳彭年等重修 四十五年臺北市藝文印書館影印清康熙間澤存堂張氏仿宋刊本

詩韻集成五卷附詞林典故 清余照編 四十四年臺北市文化圖書公司印本

袖珍詩韻 題新安未老人編 四十三年臺北市友信書房印本

詞林正韻三卷 清戈載編 世界書局文學叢書第一集影印清光緒辛巳臨桂王鵬運刊本

中國聲韻學通論 林尹撰 新興書局國學基本叢書本

袖珍檢韻 清姚文登編 新安未老人遺稿 四十四年臺北市友信書房印本

### 9. General Classics

經傳釋詞十卷 清王引之撰 世界書局漢學叢書第一集本

經詞衍釋十卷補遺一卷 清吳昌瑩撰 世界書局漢學叢書第一集本

經學纂要 蔣伯潛撰 正中書局中文庫第一輯本

十三經索引 開明書店編輯部編 四十四年台北市開明書店印本

## Part III Histories

### 1. Official History

史記集解一百三十卷 漢司馬遷撰 宋裴駰集解 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印北宋景祐監本配南宋重刊北宋監本

史記一百三十卷 漢司馬遷撰 宋裴駰集解 唐司馬貞索隱 唐張守節正義 附史記雜志六卷 清王念孫撰 藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本 又四十三年臺北市文光圖書公司影印本無雜志

史記菁華錄六卷 題亭田氏選編 四十五年臺北市遠東圖書公司印本 編者按亭田氏爲清錢塘姚祖恩別號

史記精華 秦培同注譯 宋品如增訂 四十三年臺北市世界書局印本

史記考索 開明書局編 四十六年臺北市開明書店印本 編者按此書有數篇皆注漆按字漆爲何人不詳

漢書一百二十卷 漢班固撰 唐顏師古注 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋福州郡庠重刊北宋淳化監本

漢書補注一百卷 漢班固撰 唐顏師古注 清王先謙補注 藝文印書館二十五史影印清長沙王氏虛受堂刊本

後漢書一百二十卷 宋范曄撰紀傳 唐章懷太子李賢注 晉司馬彪撰志 梁劉昭注 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋福州郡庠重刊北宋淳化監本

後漢書書解并校補一百二十卷 宋范曄撰紀傳 唐章懷太子李賢注 清王先謙集解 黃山柳從辰同校補 晉司馬彪撰志 梁劉昭注 清王先謙集解

黃山柳從辰同校補 藝文印書館二十五史影印十二年長沙刊本

兩漢書精華 秦培同注譯 宋品如增訂 四十三年臺北市世界書局印本

三國志六十五卷 晉陳壽撰 宋裴松之注 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹熙刊本

- 三國志補注六十五卷 晉陳壽撰 宋裴松之注 易培基補注 藝文印書館二十五史影印明翻北宋本及易氏補注稿本
- 三國志旁證三十卷 清梁章鉅撰 四十三年臺北市藝文印書館影印清致曲山館本
- 晉書繫注一百三十卷 唐房玄齡等奉玄齡 清吳士鑑劉承幹注 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印吳興劉氏嘉業堂刊本
- 宋書一百卷 梁沈約撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本
- 南齊書五十九卷 梁蕭子顯撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 梁書五十六卷 唐姚思廉撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 陳書三十六卷 唐姚思廉撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 北齊書一百十四卷 北齊魏收撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本
- 魏齊書五十卷 唐李百藥撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 周書五十卷 唐令狐德棻撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興間江南重刊北宋監本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 隋書八十五卷 唐魏徵撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元饒州路學刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 南史八十卷 唐李延壽撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元大德刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 北史一百卷 唐李延壽撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元信州路學刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 舊唐書二百卷 後晉劉昫撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋紹興刊本配明間人註重刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 唐書二百五十卷 宋歐陽修祁撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印北宋刊小字本 又藝文印書館二十九史影印清武英殿本
- 舊五代史一百五十卷 宋薛居正等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印吳興劉氏嘉業堂刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 五代史記七十四卷 宋歐陽修撰 宋徐無黨注 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印南宋慶元刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 宋史四百九十六卷 元脫脫等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元杭州路刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本
- 遼史一百十六卷 元脫脫等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元杭州路刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印清武英殿本

金史一百三十五卷 元脫脫等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印元杭州路刊本  
元史二百一十卷 明宋濂等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印明洪武刊本  
新元史二百五十七卷 清柯劭忞撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印東海徐氏退耕堂刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印本 據本同上  
明史三百三十六卷 清張庭玉等撰 二十五史編刊館仁壽本二十五史影印清武英殿刊本 又藝文印書館二十五史影印本 據本同上 附國史考異六卷明潘耒撰 吳炎訂  
二十二史劄記三十六卷補遺一卷 清趙翼撰 世界書局史學叢書第一集本  
重校訂紀元編三卷 清李兆洛編 羅振玉校訂 藝文印書館藝文叢書影印本  
歷代帝王年表十四卷 清齊召南編 清阮福續編 附帝王廟謚年諱譜一卷 清陸費輝編 世界書局史學叢書第一集影印清道光四年小琅環仙館刊本  
中國歷史參考圖譜 董作賓嚴一萍等編 四十二年臺北市藝文印書館精印本  
年代世系表 董作賓嚴一萍編 藝文印書館藝文叢書本  
二十五史述要清史稿述要 世界書局編輯部編 附正史源流急就篇 李祥撰 史家宗旨不同論 論史學分二十一家爲諸子之流派 陸紹明撰 世界書局史學叢書第一集本  
唐僕尚丞郎表二十二卷 嚴耕望編 四十五年中央研究院歷史語言研究所印本  
漢史辨疑 施之勉撰 中央文物供應社中國文化叢書本

## 2. Annals

竹書紀年二卷 梁沈約注 清洪頤煊校 商務印書館史學叢編本  
古本竹書紀年輯校 清朱右曾輯 王國維校補 世界書局史學叢書第二集本  
今本竹書紀年疏證二卷 王國維撰 世界書局史學叢書第二集本  
資治通鑑二百九十四卷 宋司馬光撰 元胡三省音注 四十四年臺北市藝文印書館影印清季滄葦批校明吳勉學刊本  
續資治通鑑二百二十卷 清畢沅撰 四十四年臺北市藝文印書館影印清同治江蘇書局補刻畢氏原刻本  
綱鑑易知錄十卷 清吳乘權編 新興書局國學基本叢書本

## 3. General Topical History

通鑑紀事本末四十二卷 宋袁樞編 商務印書館史學叢編本 又四十年臺北市三民書局印本  
宋史紀事本末一百九卷 明馮琦原編 明陳邦瞻纂輯 明張溥論正 商務印書館史學叢編本 又四十五年臺北市三民書局印本  
元史紀事本末二十七卷 明陳邦瞻原編 明蘇懋循補編 明張溥論正 商務印書館史學叢編本 又四十五年臺北市三民書局印本  
明史紀事本末八十卷 清谷應泰編 商務印書館史學叢編本 又四十五年臺北市三民書局印本  
東瀛紀事二卷 清林豪編 四十五年臺南市海東水山房印本

## 4. Miscellaneous

逸周書集訓校釋十卷逸文一卷 清朱右曾校釋 世界書局史學叢書第二集影印續經解本

- 晏子春秋校注八卷 張純一校注 世界書局諸子集成第一集本
- 國語韋氏解二十一卷 吳韋昭注 附札記一卷 清黃丕烈撰 世界書局史學叢書第二集影印
- 清嘉慶黃氏讀未見書齋覆宋明道本 又商務印書館史學叢編排印本
- 國語精華 秦培同注譯 宋晶如增訂 四十三年臺北市世界書局印本
- 戰國策高氏注三十三卷 漢高誘注 宋姚宏校 附札記三卷 清黃丕烈撰 戰國策逸文考一卷 諸祖耿輯 世界書局史學叢書第二集影印 清嘉慶黃氏讀未見書齋覆刻川姚氏刊本 又商務印書館史學叢編排印本無逸文考
- 國策精華 秦培同注譯 宋晶如增訂 四十三年臺北市世界書局印本
- 貞觀政要十卷 唐吳兢撰 元戈直集論 附唐太李衛公兵法問對 明劉寅解 四十六年臺北市北大書局印本
- 海上見聞錄 明阮旻錫撰 海東書房鄭成功史料合刊本
- 海紀輯要 明夏琳撰 海東山房鄭成功史料合刊本
- 閩海紀要 明夏琳撰 海東山房鄭成功史料合刊本
- 閩海紀略 明夏琳撰 海東山房鄭成功史料合刊本 編者按以上三種似是一書而傳本各異 編印者爲保存史料起見皆爲印行以備參考
- 臺灣通史 連橫撰 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本
- 明延平王臺灣海國記 余宗信編 四十四年臺北市商務印書館印本
- 鄭成功復明始末記 顏興編 趙子莪訂 四十一年臺南市鳴雨廬印本
- 海天孤憤 黃天健編 正中書局正中文庫第一輯本
- 臺灣史事概說 郭庭以編 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本
- 中國史要略 繆鳳林撰 四十三年臺北市商務印書館印本
- 中國通史 金兆豐撰 四十五年臺北市中華書局印本
- 中國通史 羅香林撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本
- 中國上古史綱 張蔭麟撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本
- 先秦史 黎東方撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本
- 秦漢史 勞幹撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本
- 魏晉南北朝史 勞幹撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本
- 隋唐五代史 傅樂成撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本
- 宋史 方豪撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本
- 清史 蕭一山撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯
- 晚清宮庭實紀 吳相湘編 正中書局正中文庫第一輯本
- 中國近代史 李方晨撰 四十五年北投陽明出版社印本 編者按近今學者編著史籍或通代或斷代爲數至多今略舉上數種以概其餘
- 十八史略選注 元曾先之原編 魯質軒選注 四十五年臺灣省教育廳編審委員會印本
- 僞楚錄輯補六卷 朱希祖輯 四十四年臺北市正中書局印本
- 太平天國叢書第一集 蕭一山輯 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本 編者按此書所輯共二十餘種。皆太平天國原始史料，多超出國學範圍，無須分列子目。故不入叢部而入雜史。



## 5. Special Topical History

- 先秦政治思想史 梁啟超撰 四十五年臺北市中華書局印本  
中國近三百年學術史 梁啟超撰 四十五年臺北市中華書局印本  
中國文化史 梁啟超撰 四十五年臺北市中華書局印本  
中國文化史 陳登原撰 世界書局史學叢書第二集本  
中國文化史 柳詒徵撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本  
中國文化史略 王見德華撰 正中書局正中文庫第一輯本  
中國思想史 錢穆撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本  
中國政治思想史 蕭公權撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
中國古代哲學史 陳元德撰 四十六年臺北市中華書局印本  
中國哲學史 金公亮撰 正中書局正中文庫第一輯本  
中國民族史 羅香林撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本  
中國古代社會史 李宗侗撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
中國政治制度史 曾繁康撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本  
中國法制史論略 徐道鄰撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本  
中國文官制度史 張金鑑撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯本  
中國教育史 王鳳喈撰 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本  
中國史學史 李宗侗撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
中國目錄學史姚名達撰 四十六年臺北市商務印書館印本  
中國目錄學史 許世瑛撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
中國文學史新編 張長弓撰 四十五年臺北市開明書店印本  
中國文學發展史 中華書局編輯部編 四十五年臺北市中華書局印本  
中國詩史 葛賢齊撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本  
中國語音史 董同龢撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
中國小學史 葛賢齊撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本  
中國散曲史 羅錦堂撰 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本  
中國戲劇史 鄧綏賓撰 中國文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本  
中國音樂史 王光祈撰 四十六年臺北市中華書局印本

## 6. Biographies

- 管子傳 梁啟超編 四十六年台北市中華書局印本 編者按近人所作名人傳記至多茲就知見所及略舉詳瞻典雅者十數種  
孔子年譜 許同萊編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯本  
張騫蘇武 杜呈祥編 中央文物供應社傳記叢書本  
陶淵明 梁啟超編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
陶淵明評論 李辰冬編 中華文化出版社事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第四輯本  
大唐玄奘大師傳 唐釋慧立撰 唐釋彥棕箋 四十五年台北市台灣印經處影印日本東方文化研究所影高麗高宗三十三年刊本

王荊公 梁啓超編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
 岳飛評傳 彭國棟編 四十三年台北市正中書局印本  
 岳飛 勝利出版公司編輯部編 四十三年台北市勝利出版公司印本  
 辛棄疾評傳 杜呈祥編 四十年台北市正中書局印本  
 文天祥 王夢鷗編 四十三年台北市勝利出版公司印本  
 文山史話 劉維崇編 中央文物供應社傳記叢書本  
 成吉思汗生殂年月考 程發軔撰 四十三年蒙藏委員會印本  
 蒲壽庚傳 羅香林編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯本  
 王陽明傳鄭繼 孟編 四十六年台北市台北書局印本  
 張居正評傳 陳翊林編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
 朱舜水先生年譜 梁啓超編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
 朱舜水傳 宋越倫編 中央文物供應社傳記叢書本  
 明末孤臣張蒼水傳 李振華編 中央文物供應社傳記叢書本  
 鄭成功傳 清鄭亦鄒撰 海東山房成功史料合刊本  
 胡林翼 李少陵編 四十六年高雄市大業書店印本  
 曾文正公大事記 清劉疏松編 啓明書局曾文正公選集本  
 曾國藩評傳 何貽焜編 正中書局正中文庫第二輯本  
 曾國藩 蕭一山編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第一輯本  
 曾國藩 李少陵編 四十六年高雄市大業書店印本  
 左宗棠 李少陵編 四十六年高雄市大業書店印本  
 清代中興名將左宗棠 陳壽恆編 四十五年台北市拔提書局印本  
 張謇傳 宋希尚編 中央文物供應社傳記叢書本  
 歷代名人年譜十卷存疑一卷 清吳榮光編 商務印書館史學叢編本  
 淨土聖賢錄九卷續四卷三編五卷 清彭希濂編 續編清胡珽編 三編德森編 四十六年台北市建北康書局印本  
 中國古代政治家 秦景陽編 三十九年台北市華國出版社印本  
 歷代開國中興名賢傳 國防部總政治部編 四十三年國防部總政治部印本  
 歷代名將傳 國防部總政治部編 四十三年國防部總政治部印本  
 國史上的偉大人物 張其昀等編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本 未出全  
 熱河日記二十六卷 清朝鮮朴趾源撰 亦名燕行錄爲朴氏燕巖集之一種 中華叢書委員會中華叢書影印國立中央圖書館藏初鈔稿本  
 尊行日記存十三卷 清姜炳璋撰 中華叢書委員會中華叢書影印撰者七代孫姜梅塢家藏手稿本  
 台灣日記八卷 清胡傳撰 羅爾綱胡適同校 台灣省文獻委員會台灣叢書台灣記錄兩種本

## 7. Geographies

水經注四十卷卷首一卷 漢桑欽撰 後魏酈道元注 清戴震校 世界書局史學叢書第二

集本

- 中國河川誌 宋希尚編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
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台灣府志 清高拱乾纂 四十五年台北市杭縣方化慎思堂影印日本內閣文庫藏本  
恆春縣志 清陳文緯主修 清屠維善纂 林熊祥廖漢臣同標點校對 台灣省文獻委員會台灣叢書本 據中央研究院歷史語言研究所曬藍本印  
苗栗縣志十六卷 清沈茂蔭纂 四十二年苗栗縣文獻委員會印本  
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金門志 清林焜熿纂 焜熿子林豪續 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本  
台灣省通志稿 林熊祥等纂 四十年台灣文獻委員會印本  
基隆市志 陳正祥等纂 四十三年基隆市文獻委員會印本  
台灣風土志 何聯奎衛惠林編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
台灣新志 楊錫福等纂 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二輯本  
新方志學舉隅 原名遵義新志 張其均等編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第三輯本  
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星軺小記 楊亮功撰 四十五年台北市啓明書局印本  
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壯行三萬里 王孔安撰 四十五台北市撰者印本  
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## 8. Political History

- 唐律疏義三十卷 唐長孫無忌等奉勅撰 附元王元亮釋文 商務印書館政法叢編本  
陸宣公奏議四卷制誥十卷 唐陸贄撰 清汪銘謙編 商務印書館政法叢編本  
唐陸宣公集二卷 唐陸贄撰 嚴一萍編 四十四年台北市藝文印書館影印本 編者按此書似據四部叢刊翰苑集本影印惟次序改移且於題目下增敘事由或年代字體與原文不同蓋即編集者所割移添補也  
通志二十略五十二卷 宋鄭樵撰 明陳宗夢校 世界書局史學叢書第一集本  
營造法式三十四卷看詳一卷目錄一卷 宋李誠編 商務印書館藝術叢編影印紫江朱氏刊本  
康濟錄 清陸曾禹輯 清倪璣輯要 四十年陽明山命革實踐研究院印本  
胡林翼集 清胡林翼撰 四十五年台北市武學書局印本 又四十五年台北市拔提書局印本 編者按此書祇錄奏疏書牘批牘等文故入政書類  
秦會要二十六卷 清孫楷輯 施之勉徐復同補訂 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本  
台灣稟啓存稿三卷 清胡傳撰 羅爾綱胡適同校 台灣省文獻委員會台灣叢書台灣紀錄兩種本  
明清史料戊編 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所編 四十二年國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所印本  
庭寄 清福康安藏 林熊祥編 台灣省文獻委員會台灣叢書本

## 9. Family Lineage

- 四庫全書總目提要二百卷 清紀昀撰 附四庫未收書目提要 清阮元撰 禁燬書目四種  
清姚觀元編 四庫書  
索引 不著編人 藝文印書館國學標準典籍影印本  
四庫全書提要辨證十二卷 余嘉錫撰 藝文印書館國學標準典籍影印二十六年原刊本 編者按此書祇印史部八卷經集部皆闕  
四部要籍序跋大全 闕名編 四十一年台北市華國出版社影印本 此書原名彙測編  
書目答問補正五卷 清張之洞編 范希曾補正 新興書局國學基本叢書本  
校訂書目答問補正五卷 清張之洞編 范希曾補正 柴德庚等校補 藝文印書館藝文叢書影印本  
曲錄六梁 王國維編 藝文印書館國學標準典籍影印本  
古書真偽及其年代 梁啟超編 四十五年台北市中華書局印本  
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台灣公藏方志聯合目錄 國立中央圖書館編 四十六年中華文化出版事業委員會印本 編者按國立中央圖書館自復館後編印書目頗多茲錄重要數種以概之

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金文零釋 周法高 四十年中央研究院歷史語言研究所印本

毛公鼎 董作賓撰 四十一年台北市大水雜誌社印本

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散盤集釋 高鴻縉編撰 四十六年台北市世界書局經售本

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石鼓通考 那志良編撰 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本

殷虛書契外編董作賓編 嚴一萍釋 四十五年台北市藝文印書館影印本

甲骨學五十年 董作賓撰 四十四年台北市藝文印書館印本

#### 10 Commentaries on History

史通通解二十卷 唐劉知幾撰 清浦起龍解 世界書局史學叢書第一集本

東萊博議四卷 宋呂祖謙撰 儲菊人注譯 四十五年台北市文化圖書公司印本

讀通鑑論三十卷 清王夫之撰 藝文印書館藝文叢書影印船山遺書本

文史通義八卷校讎通義三卷 清章學誠撰 世界書局史學叢書第一印本

通志條議 王葆心撰 中華叢書委員會中華叢書本 原名重修湖北通志條議

中國歷史研究法 梁啟超撰 四十五年台北市中華書局印本

國史研究十篇 梁啟超撰 四十五年台北市中華書局印本

司馬光史論 宋晞編 中央文物供應社中國文化叢書本

正史論贊 宋晞編 中華文化出版事業委員會現代國民基本知識叢書第二、三、四輯本

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